ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A.

DEAN AND RECTOR OF BOCKING, AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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PAGE 20, l. 9, *for* seculiar, *read* secular.
—— 302, l. 3, note, *for* instilled, *read* instiled.
—— 373, l. 25. *for* for this, *read* this for.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our redemption 1568, in Bocton-hall (commonly called Bocton, or Bougton-place, or palace,) in the parish of Bocton Malherb, in the fruitful country of Kent: Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish church of Bocton Malherb adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill as gives the advantage of a large prospect and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation, which they have served abroad faithfully in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree, and our chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged; and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, knt. was born about the year of Christ 1460: he lived in the reign of king Edward the fourth, was by him trusted to be lieutenant of Guisnes, to be knight porter, and comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, knight, (son and heir of the said sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of king Henry the seventh: he was made treasurer of Calais, and of the privy council to king Henry the eighth, who offered him to be lord chancellor of England; but (saith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle) out of a virtuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, esquire, son and heir of the said sir Edward, (and the father of our sir Henry that occasions this relation,) was born in the year of Christ 1521: he was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering

offering him a knighthood, (she was then with him at his Bocton-hall,) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation which sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover, and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambert, in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four sons, sir Edward, sir James, sir John, and sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by queen Elizabeth, and made comptroller of her majesty's household. He was (saith Camden) a man remarkable for many and great employments in the state during her reign, and sent several times ambassador into foreign nations. After her death he was by king James made comptroller of his household, and called to be of his privy council, and by him advanced to be lord Wotton, baron of Merly in Kent, and made lord lieutenant of that county.

Sir James (the second son) may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the 38th of queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert earl of Sussex, count Lodowick of Nassau, don Christophoro, son of Antonio king of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they

they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished both by learning and travel, was knighted by queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed; but if I had looked so far back as to sir Nicholas Wotton, (who lived in the reign of king Richard the second,) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was doctor of law, and sometime dean both of York and Canterbury; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments; * having been nine times ambassador unto foreign princes; and by his being a privy councillor to king Henry the eighth, to Edward the sixth, to queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace

* Camden in his Britannia.

betwixt

betwixt this and those kingdoms, died (saith learned Camden) full of commendations for wisdom and piety.——He was also by the will of king Henry the eighth made one of his executors, and chief secretary of state to his son, that pious prince Edward the sixth.——Concerning which Nicholas Wotton I shall say but this little more: that he refused (being offered it by queen Elizabeth) to be * archbishop of Canterbury; and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added: but by this it may appear, that sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred as left a stock of reputation to their posterity; such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that sir Henry Wotton did so might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends some one of higher parts and employment had been pleased to have commended his to posterity. But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some † that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers

* Hollinshead.

† Sir Edward Bish, clarencieux king of arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime sir Henry Wotton's servant.

with

with a commixture of truth and sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of sir Henry Wotton was twice married, first to Elizabeth, the daughter of sir John Rudstone, knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law, in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a remarriage; to whom he as often answered, That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons:

namely, those { that had children.
that had law-suits.
that were of his kindred.

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton of Kent, esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law; and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition and affect her person (for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted,) which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent,) he had only Henry his

his youngest son.——His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble, which she was content to continue till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher form (which was very early) he was sent to Winchester school, a place of strict discipline and order; that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that school to be commoner of New College in Oxford, both being founded by William Wickham, bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College, where within that year he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use, (it was the tragedy of Tancredo,) which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight Baptista Guarini

Guarini (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded master of arts, and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de oculo;* wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye; and demonstrated how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs his distinct office, so as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger, teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations he fell to dispute this optique question, "Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without?" and after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he in the conclusion of his lectures took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of seeing; by which we do not only discover nature's secrets; but with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great light of the world, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order and motion of the celestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our common mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time

time (like those very flowers) decays and withers, and quickly returns again to that earth from which both had their first being.

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis (then professor of the civil law in Oxford) to call him *Henrice, mi ocelle;* which dear expression of his was also used by divers of sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note, during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long; at least, not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after sir Henry proceeded master of arts, his father (whom sir Henry did never mention without this or some like reverential expression, as *That good man my father*, or *my father the best of men:*) about that time this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our redemption 1553 Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, (whom I formerly mentioned) being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life and ruin of his family.

Doubtless

Doubtless the good dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do: but though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophesies are ceased, yet doubtless he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh, (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it, and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure * Monica, the mother of St. Austin, that he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian. This I believe the good dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee. Upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the queen (it was queen Mary) and besought her, "That she would cause his nephew, Thomas

* St. Austin's Confession.

Wotton,

Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable prison; declaring that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request when he should next become so happy as to see and speak to her majesty."

It was done as the dean desired; and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our queen Mary and Philip king of Spain; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion of her privy council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation, yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley Abbey, in Kent, (betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially in Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: so did the duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been if he had not been confined; for though he could not be ignorant that another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England,

England, and then came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions, and thought he had not continued actually innocent if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it; that God who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come and discovering things past: and the particular is this; this Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars; and that the number was five: and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before,) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and University were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer.) foresee and foretell the very days of their own death: Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age, who being then in London (where he died) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the cathedral church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral. This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry (for so Gentilis used to call him) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that this friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must

must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun between him and Dr. Donne, (sometime dean of St. Paul's,) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he staid till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the two and twentieth year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he staid but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza (then very aged), and with Isaac Causabon, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) sir Henry Wotton was lodged,

lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as picture, sculpture, chemistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which, he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse, and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of fortune, and in greatest favour with queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries; (the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton College in Oxford; and there also the acquaintance of sir Henry Wotton in his youth; Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the fatalness of his end.)

Sir Henry Wotton being now taken into a ser-

viceable friendship with the earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the earl's last) into Ireland; that voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings, which with the help of a contrary faction suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his confederation; yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocence in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of sir Edward Wotton,

his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed, his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation; and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the great duke's court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts,) in which number he there met with his old friend Seignior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be secretary to the great duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English College he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion,) and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our king James, then king of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the reader, that though queen Elizabeth (or she and her council) were never willing to declare her successor; yet James then king of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation) knowing that the death of the queen, and the establishing of her successor,

were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a protestant prince to succeed her. And as the pope's excommunication of queen Elizabeth, had both by the judgment and practice of the jesuited papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry adversary, a * seculiar priest against a jesuit) you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of king James.

Immediately after sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of queen Elizabeth) Ferdinand the great duke of Florence had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then king of Scots. The duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that king; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the duke; and the duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the king, and with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it

* Watson in his Quodlibets.

best

best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger; he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the king at Sterling; being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the king's bed-chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his majesty, assuring him, "That the business which he was to negotiate, was of such consequence, as had caused the great duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his king."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the king, the king after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name (which was said to be Octavio Baldi) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore) and being entered the chamber, he found there with the king three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber; at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the king observing, "bade him be bold, and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the king in Italian; which, when the king had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table and whispers to the king in his own langauge, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised, and really performed by the king during all his abode there (which was about three months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the

the king, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that country could afford; from which he he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment, and within some few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that queen Elizabeth was dead; and James king of the Scots proclaimed king of England. The duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the king with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When king James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late queen's officers, sir Edward, who was after lord Wotton, comptroller of the house, of whom he demanded, "If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign travel?" the lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother; then the king asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice, or Florence; but by late letters from thence, he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the king, "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The lord Wotton after a little wonder, asked the king, "If he knew him?" to which the king answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the king, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying, "he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with": and said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience,

perience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter": and indeed the king did so most of those two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismist Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the king having resolved, according to his motto *(Beati pacifici)* to have a friendship with his neighbour-kingdoms of France and Spain, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to sir Henry Wotton; who considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the christian world.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the king for his voyage thither, and settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded. They were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted; sir Albertus Morton

Morton his nephew, who went his secretary; and Willian Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And, though his dear friend Doctor Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter sent by him to sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

AFTER those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good, and great kings loved hand, and feared name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
And how he may, makes you almost the same;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

After those learned papers which your hand
Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too;
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers which friends send
With glad grief to your sea-ward-steps farewel,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell:

Admit

Admit this honest paper; and allow
  It such an audience as yourself would ask;
What you would say at Venice, this says now,
  And has for nature what you have for task:

To swear much love; nor to be changed before
  Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
  Than I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)
  To want, then govern greatness; for we are
In that, our own and only business;
  In this, we must for others vices care.

'Tis therefore well, your spirits now are plac'd
  In their last furnace, in activity;
Which fits them: schools, and courts, and wars 'ore past
  To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be such a thing as I)
  Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
  That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
  For your increase, God is as near me here:
And to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
  In length and ease, are alike every where.

J. Donne.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the state of Venice, with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture

juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then duke; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the state of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of pope Clement the eighth, some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and power of the civil magistrate; of which for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of the ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all public service, and taxes, and from all secular judgment: so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be born by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the abbot of Nervesa, and a canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name: nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling; (for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous, and most vicious men of any nation.) These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the state of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized

seized the persons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former pope Clement the eighth, and that republic: I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering (as I conceive) that in the late council of Trent it was at last (after many politique disturbances, and delays, and endeavours to preserve the pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by that council, "That though discipline, and especially excommunication be one of the chief sinews of church government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it: for which end, it was declared to be very profitable; yet, it was also declared and advised to be used with great sobriety and care: because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly, or rashly, it became more contemned then feared." And, though this was the advice of that council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians; yet this prudent, patient pope Clement dying, pope Paul the fifth, who succeeded him (though not immediately, yet in the same year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention: objecting those late acts of that state, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty four days for their revocation; threatning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to excommunication of the republic, who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this pope, contray to his predecessor's

decessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year; the pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance, till at last, the pope's zeal to the apostolic see, did make him excommunicate the duke, the whole senate, and all their dominions; and that done to shut up all their churches; charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the pope's interdict, they presently published by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:

"That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict, published there, as well against the law of God, as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the council of ten, upon pain of death. And made it loss of estate and nobility, but to speak in the behalf of the jesuits."

Then was Duado their ambassador called home from Rome, and the inquisition presently suspended by order of the state; and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the pope, either by free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul, a holy and learned frier (the author of the History of the Council of Trent) whose advice was, "Neither to provoke the pope, nor lose their own right:" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state, "That the pope was trusted to keep

keep two keys; one of prudence and the other of power: and that if they were not both used together, power alone is not effectual in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned protestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observed, the English ambassador was so often in conference with the senate, and his chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: and also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the king of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the mean time they required the king's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England; (that pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church) namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free council, for the settlement of peace in christendom: and, that he doubted not, but that the French king, and divers other princes would join to assist in so good a work; and in the mean time, the sin of this breach, both with his, and the Venetians dominions, must of necessity lye at the popes door."

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless: still acquainting king James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause: which was by him

him so performed, that the pope saw plainly, he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it: for, they made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge, that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with king James, for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto king James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and in the universal language.

For eight years after sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the king's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta; where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation) with whom he passing an evening in merriment, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his albo; (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them) and sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse

discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words:

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.

Which sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

An embassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.

But the word for lie (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn) was not so exprest in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen: who with books against king James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the king, and his ambassador sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of king James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in sir Henry Wotton, as caused the king to express much wrath against him: and this caused sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against

against the venemous books of Scioppius; and another apology to king James: which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, "That sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence."

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest (as though it had been an intailed love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing, that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions,

positions, usually fails in his proposed ends: but in this sir Henry Wotton did not fail: for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse; with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit, or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But, all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of the interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German empire, and in Italy; where many gentlemen whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter, or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples: one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turks; and those English, having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several gallies and prisons, sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hun-

dreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment, and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments, sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice ambassador to the republic of Venice; and at his last going thither, he was employed ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the emperor Ferdinando the second; and that his employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the restauration of the queen of Bohemia, and her descendents, to their patrimonial inheritance of the palatinate.

This was by his eight months constant endeavours and attendance upon the emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without blood-shed: but there was at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating, there was a battle fought; in the managery whereof, there was so many miserable errors on the one side, (so sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the king) and so advantageous events to the emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty: so that sir Henry seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal

from

from that court; and at his departure from the emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next: and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some passion, (his dear mistress the queen of Bohemia being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the emperor; who replied, "That he would consider his advice: and though he looked on the king his master as an abettor of his enemy the Palsgrave; yet for sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him; which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by sir Henry Wotton: but the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he at his taking leave of the countess of Sabrina (an Italian lady, in whose house the emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained) he acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, "That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress the

queen of Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his prince, and this nation, might be insisted upon: as namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes, and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of king James with the Venetian state, concerning the bishop of Spalato's return[1] to the church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me (his late majesty's letter office having now suffered a strange alienation) and indeed I want time too, for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last embassy into England.

"Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Britt. Rege. in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum Provinciarum

[1] *The bishop of Spalato's return.*] See *M. Ant. de Dominis Arch-bishop of Spalato, his shiftings in Religion. London printed by John Bill. A. D.* 1624. Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud.* p. 107—109. Barwick's *Life of Bishop Morton.* p. 85—88. Wood's *Annals.* Vol. 2. p. 328. &c.

A copy of the first tract, as we learn from the Address to the Reader, "was by his Majesty's special commandment sent to Sir H. Wotton, his Majesty's Ambassador Ordinary with the State of Venice that he might, as occasion served, inform that State concerning the true carriage of that business with the Archbishop."

Ordines in Juliacensi negotio; bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum, legatus extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo."

To London he came the year before king James died; who having for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the master of the rolls place, if he out-lived charitable sir Julius Cæsar, who then possessed it, and then, grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But, these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support. For in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother the lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the king's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists. This was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day; (for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of sir Philip Sidney's wit, *That it was the very measure of congruity)* he being always so careless

careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, *Care not for to-morrow*, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time, the provostship of his majesty's college of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suiters to the king. And sir Henry who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business; and, that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the king of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant of it from his majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: but money was wanting[2] to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance; of which Nicholas Pey, I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way, a servant to the lord Wotton, sir Henry's brother;

[2] *Money was wanting.*] "When he went to the election at Eton, soon after his being made Provost, he was so ill provided, that the Fellows of the College were obliged to furnish his bare walls, and whatever else was wanting." See Birch's *Letters of Lord Chancellor Bacon.* p. 338. note.

and

and by him, when he was comptroller of the king's houshold, was made a great officer in his majesty's house. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for less would not settle him in the college) and the want of such a sum, *wrinkled his face with care*; (it was his own expression) and that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his college, and *Invidiæ remedium* writ over his study-door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the college; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning: the college being to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed foom all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers! And (as sir William Davenant has happily exprest the like of another person)

Laugh at the graver business of the state,
Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.

Being

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the college: by which, he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did; being made deacon[3] with all convenient speed: shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit; to whom sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the king, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that emperor Charles the fifth, seemed to approve: who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God (which the rich or busy men seldom do) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, *that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him;* even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to con-

3 *Made deacon*] A. D. 1627. Upon this occasion he wrote an interesting letter to the King, which is preserved in his *Remains*. p. 327. edit. 1685. His design was to have received orders at the hands of Williams, bishop of Lincoln, Visitor of his College: but in that he was disappointed, by a sudden command from the King, that Williams should quit London, See *Remains*. p. 326.

templation,

templation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the college. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But, when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling[4], which he would usually call, *his idle time, not idly spent;* saying often, he would rather live five May months, than forty Decembers.

He

4 *Innate pleasure of angling.*] "My next and last example" (of the dear lovers and great practisers of angling, being at the same time eminent for learning) "shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed; a man whose foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit and cheerfulness made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind. This man, whose very approbation of angling were sufficient to convince any modest censurer of it, was also a most dear lover, and a frequent practiser of my art: of which he would say, ' 'Twas an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent: for angling was, after tedious study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness; and that it begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practised it. Indeed, my friend, you will find angling to be like the virtue of humility, which has a calmness of spirit, and a world of other blessings attending it.'

"Sir,

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning, for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators; persuading them not to neglect rhetorick, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon: and he would often say, That none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it. He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apothegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

"Sir, this was the saying of that learned man. And I do easily believe that peace and patience, and a calm content, did cohabit in the chearful heart of Sir Henry Wotton, because I know that when he was beyond seventy years of age, he made this description of a part of the present pleasure that possessed him, as he sat quietly in a summer's evening, on a bank a fishing. It is a description of the spring; which, because it glided as soft and sweetly from his pen, as that river does at this time by which it was then made, I shall repeat it to you.

"*This day dame Nature seemed in love, &c. &c.*

These were the thoughts that then possessed the undisturbed mind of sir Henry Wotton." Walton's *Compleat Angler*. p. 32. edit. 1772.

He

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour, he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion, concerning which, I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to shew the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church, the priest seeing sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the quire this question, writ in a small piece of paper, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question sir Henry presently under-writ, "My religion was to be found then, where your's is not to be found now, in the written word of God."

The next vesper, sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the quire-boys with this question, to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest; "Do you believe all those many thousands of poor christians were damned that were excommunicated, because the pope, and the duke of Venice, could not agree about their temporal power, even those poor christians that knew not why they quarrelled? Speak your conscience." To which he under-writ in French, "Monsieur, excusay moy."

To one that asked him, "Whether a papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, "Pray sir forbear till you have studied the points better; for the wise Italians have this proverb; *He that understands amiss, concludes worse:* and take heed of thinking, *The farther you go from the church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.*"

And to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travel towards Venice, as I past through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the professor of divinity in that University) a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy: and indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his proposals to our master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose book, *of the Order and Causes of Salvation* (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequents of his doctrine; intending them (it is said) to come privately to Mr. Perkins own hands, and to receive from him, a like private and a like loving answer: but, Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him; and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them (but since his death, his sons did not). And it is pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer

answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And doubtless, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well) many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning (which yet may preach well) men that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the church of England, (if there be any) will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof[5] of St. Jude, for being *busy-bodies*, and for *meddling with things they understand not.*"

And

[5] *Fall under the reproof.*] There were not wanting occasionally a few other learned men, who in these turbulent times, had wisdom enough to discourage the promiscuous agitation of these thorny and perplexed controversies. Among others who might be cited, we shall be contented to refer to the example of Dr. Richard Field, author of *the Five Books of the Church*, who is said to have been the intimate friend of Richard Hooker; and whose writings display no small portion of the meekness of spirit, the depth of thought, and the learning of that admirable man.

"He did not like" (as his son informs us) "so much disputing about those high points of predestination and reprobation, which have so much troubled the church of late years, and in ancient times; about which the Dominicans and the Jesuites, the Lutherans and the Calvinists are so much divided. He did not like that men should be so busy in determining what God decrees in Heaven, *whose counsels are unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out.*

Being at Oxford at the Act, when Doctor Abbot, who was then Regius Professor, and Doctor of the Chair, first began to read upon those points, which are commonly called the *Arminian points*: after he had heard him, being returned unto his

And here it offers itself (I think not unfitly) to tell the reader, that a friend of sir Henry Wotton's, being designed for the employment of an ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negociations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism; "That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions speak the truth (it seems a state-paradox) for, says sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means, your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and it will also put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me, whilst according to my promise, I shall say a little of sir Albertus Morton, and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, sir Albert Morton, went his secretary: and am next to tell you, that sir Albertus died secretary of state to our late king; but cannot, am not

his lodging, he was very much offended at it, and said unto Doctor Bostock, who was then present with him, *You are a young man, and may live to see great troubles in the Church of England, occasioned by these disputes. Oxford hath hitherto been free from these disputes, though Cambridge hath been much disquieted with them. They are disputes which have troubled the peace of the Church above nine hundred years already, and will not now be ended.* In points of such extreme difficulty he did not think fit to be too positive in defining any thing; to turn matters of opinion into matters of faith." *Short Memorials concerning the Life of Doctor Richard Field, written by his Son.* p. 21. Compare Barwick's *Life of Bishop Morton.* p. 153.

able

able to express the sorrow that possest sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world; and yet, the reader may partly guess by these following expressions: the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

"——And my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of sir Albertus Morton's departure out of this world, who was dearer to me, than mine own being in it: what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but, our Creator's will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature, and of all fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we must study upon earth; let us therefore that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it. And my good Nick, &c."

This is a part of his sorrow thus exprest to his Nick Pey; the other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude, it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

Silence in truth would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feeling tell;

Yet

Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest,
A time to bid him whom I lov'd farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore,
Strength to accent, HERE MY ALBERTUS LIES.

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
And womb of earth, that doth his corpse embrace;
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful tears in showers shall flow
To humanize the flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my weakness judge and me;
Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
As if some Muse would listen to my lay?
When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust,
Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his sir Albertus Morton.

And

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when king James sent sir Henry Wotton ambassador to the state of Venice, he sent also an ambassador to the king of France, and another to the king of Spain: with the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall (late bishop of Norwich) whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors, were all bred in one University, all of one * college, all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends: but in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations[6], or reasons, such as were so powerful,

* Emanuel College, in Cambridge.

[6] *Met with temptations.*] We have the following account written by his son. "At his first arrival" (in Spain) "the Jesuits held with him a subtle dispute about the antiquity and the universality of the Church of Rome, which they make their preface to all seducements; his grand opposers being Joseph Creswell and Henry Walpole, two the most expert politicians of our nation, that then maintained the state of the triple crown; whose understanding nevertheless would not prove captive either to the subtilest arguments, or most alluring promises. The Embassador seeing how wisely he quitted himself, sent letters to his Majesty, informing him how learnedly he was accompanied.—Meanwhile the Jesuits perceiving how little they prevailed, used other illusions stronger than their arguments, even strange apparitions of miracles: amongst others, the miracle which they pretend to be true to have happened to the eldest son of the Lord Wotton at his death, in the city Valladolid, where a crucifix framed him this articulate sound, *Now forsake your heresy, or else you are damned;* whereupon the young Lord and my Father became proselytes to their juggling religion, the report whereof not long after became a loadstone also to the old Lord Wotton his father, with many others, to draw them to Popish idolatry. And so my Father, leaving the embassador's house privately, and discarding his wife and children,

powerful, as to persuade him (who of the three, was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the church of England, and declare himself for the church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the ambassador, and betaking himself to a monasterial life; in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall (the late bishop of Norwich) came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth (it is the first epistle in his printed decads) to persuade his return, or to shew the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters, which be extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness: which I mention the rather, because, it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which, the reader is referred

children, and fortunes in England, was conducted forthwith by the means of father Creswell to the University of Salamanca, whereat the next day after his arrival, he was carried to the bishop's, then inquisitor's, house; where he was admitted with no little joy to their church: where he prostrating himself on the ground, and the inquisitor putting, as their custom is, his right foot on his head, said with a loud voice, *Here I crush the head of heresy*; the which ceremony and others ended, after a months abode in the said University, he passed with Creswell to the court of Madrid." *English Spanish Pilgrim*. p. 2, 3.

to

to this following letter of sir Henry Wotton's, writ to our late king Charles the first.

May it please your most Gracious Majesty,

Having been informed that persons have, by the good wishes of the archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge, could have been propounded unto your majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please your majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known to the king your father, of most blessed memory. And so with your majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which

himself hath dedicated to your majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your majesty's

Most humble and faithful servant,

H. WOTTON.

To this letter I shall add this; that he was (to the great joy of sir Henry Wotton) made governor of the said college; and that * after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be bishop of Kilmore †. In both which places his life was so holy as seemed to equal the primitive Christians; for as they, so he kept all the ember-weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the church of England; to which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as shewed his affections were set upon *things that are above;* for indeed his whole life brought forth the *fruits of the spirit,* there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, (1 Tim. iii. 7.) *That he have a good report of those that be without;* so had he; for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Romish persuasion, (of which there were very many in his diocese) did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence; and testified it by a concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction

* August, 1627. † Sept. 3. 1629.

of

of persons; and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief, in a quiet prison (1629.) And with him was lost many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said [7] of Mr. Bedel, who (I tolc the reader) was sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain; and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, doctor in divinity, and the late learned and hospitable dean of Canterbury; as also of the merit of many others, that had the happiness to attend sir Henry in his foreign employments: but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the Life of Martin Luther; and in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire, by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowlege of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in

[7] *More might be said.*] See *Life of William Bedell, D.D. Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.* A. D. 1685, written by Bishop Burnet.

these

these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend doctor Duppa, the late reverend bishop of Salisbury; but in the midst of this design, his late majesty king Charles the first, that knew the value of sir Henry Wotton's pen, did by a persuasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500l. a year) force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the History of England, in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the sixth, the founder of that college in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being; but sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerfull heart was still maintained, he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the king would have made satisfaction; but being still delayed with court promises, and finding some decays of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit or conscionable

scionable policy? But there is no doubt but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

"In the name of God Almighty and All-merciful, I Henry Wotton, provost of his majesty's college by Eton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do, by this last will and testament thus dispose of myself and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at or near Eton, to be buried in the chapel of the said college, as the fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knows) in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Bocton Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that parish church, as near as may be to the sepulchre of my good father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ."

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly: and considering that time moulders even marble to

 dust,

dust, (for * monuments themselves must die) therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apothegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits (of both which he might justly have boasted) but he was content to forget them, and did chuse only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition and preserve his memory.

It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author,

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS [s], ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen aliàs quære.

Which may be Englished thus,

Here lies the first author of this sentence,

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire his name elsewhere.

And

* Juven.

[s] *Disputandi pruritus.*] In a Panegyric addressed to king Charles I. on his return from Scotland, A. D. 1633, written in Latin, and translated by a friend, Sir Henry thus expresses himself.

" There were hatched abroad some years ago, or perhaps raked up out of antiquity, certain controversies about high points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of wit are easily diffused) least hereabout also both pulpits and pews might run to heat and publick disturbance, your Majesty with most laudable temper, by proclamation suppressed on both sides, all manner of debates.

Others

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence; but, that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, *Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun.* But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like sentence; yet reason mixt with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprize his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view, and censure of every critic. And questionless, it will be charity in all readers, to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him: and that in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant (into which he daily expected his admission.) And that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety: and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble christians believed to be a sin to think: and where as our

Others may think what pleaseth them; in my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) *The itch of disputing will prove the scab of Churches.* I shall relate what I have chanced more than once to observe: two, namely, arguing about some subject so eagerly till either of them transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had lost first their Charity, and then also the Truth." *Remains.* p. 147.

reverend

reverend Hooker says, "Former simplicity, and softness of spirit, is not now to be found, because, zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness:" it will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: the rest of his will follows in his own words.

"Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last will and testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton second son to sir Robert Morton knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison one of the fellows of Eton College, best acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last will and testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his majesty's exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my forenamed executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or, that shall be hereafter added unto this my testament, by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands, or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. And first, to my most dear sovereign and master of incomparable goodness (in whose gracious opinion, I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain and honest man) I leave four pictures at large of those dukes of

of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary dining-room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous duke Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item the picture of a duke of Venice hanging over against the door done either by Titiano, or some principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his majesty that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

"Item I leave his said majesty all the papers and negotiations of sir Nicholas Throgmorton knight, during his famous employment under queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his majesty will think fit to be preserved in his paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebanck, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by sir Arthur Throgmorton his son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. Item I leave to our most gracious and virtuous queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo, in the best language of Tuscany, whence her majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful prince, the picture of the elected and crowned

crowned queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the clouds of her fortune. To my lord's grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the king's galleries, of my presentation to his majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy lord bishop of London, lord high treasurer of England, in true admiration of his christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world: most humbly beseeching the said lord archbishop his grace, and the lord bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life time, to intercede with our most gracious sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour than mine own utility) some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last will and testament shall present unto their lordships, without their farther trouble: hoping likewise in his majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears. To——for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave as emblems of his attractive virtues, and nobleness, my great loadstone; and a piece of amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece of christal sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhætian Alps, in the very place where it grew:

recommending

recommending most humbly unto his lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed spiritual lords; and am heartily sorry, that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honored person. Item, I leave to sir Francis Windebank, one of his majesties principal secretaries of state (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form) which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

"To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this will. I leave to him likewise my viol de gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection. To my other supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses: in * the lower box whereof, are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my arrears, and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the library at Eton College I leave all my manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the fellows a plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the verge, with his motto within, *Amor unit omnia.*

"This is my last will and testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year

* In it were Italian locks, picklocks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

of

of our redemption 1637. And subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

HENRY WOTTON."

Nich. Oudert.
Geo. Lash.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will, did gladly receive their legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the king (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton-hall, where he would say, he found a cure for all cares, by the chearful company, which he called the living furniture of that place: and, a restoration of his strength, by the connaturalness of that, which he called his genial air.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester-College; to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester, towards Eton-College, he said to a friend, his companion in that journey; "How useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there; and I find it thus far experimentally true; that my now being in that

that school, and seeing that very place where I sate when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow paced) had changed my youth into manhood: but age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did fore tell, *sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.* Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eton (which was about five months before his death) he became much more retired, and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (learned Mr. John Hales) then a fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose——" I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those joys of which a discoursive soul is capable; and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content; but, have oft met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And, yet though I have been and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise him for it; and

and I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself but he that hath kept me to this great age; and let him take the glory of his great mercy.—And my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death: that harbour, that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world, *wherein dwelleth righteousness*, and I long for it."——These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated; yet so, as to leave him much weaker than it found him: and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which as many thoughtful men do, he had also taken somewhat immoderately.—This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him; came now, both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his chearfulness: of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen both in the days of his youth, and in the busy part of his life, useless by a fire made there to that purpose.——These and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to fortell that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those

those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient, and free from all fear; as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify: and thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality, with as much content and chearfulness as human frailty is capable of; being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of sir Henry Wotton's life (that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference therof, did first touch at Winchester-school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many reremarkable parts and passages in Christendom), that circle of his life, was by death thus closed up and compleated, in the seventy and second year of his age, at Eton College; where according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him; dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

All readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory, and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

Iz. Wa.

AN ELEGY ON

SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT

BY MR. ABRAHAM COWLEY.

WHAT shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be.
Who had so many languages in store,
That only fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd must see:
He's gone to heaven, on his fourth embassy.
On earth he travel'd often, not to say
He had been abroad to pass loose time away:
For, in what ever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners: bringing home
Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of tongues, that Babel sent into the West:
Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)
Not only liv'd, but been born every where.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known:
Who, for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor, ought the language of that man be less
Who in his breast had all things to express:
We say that learning's endless, and blame fate
For not allowing life a longer date:

He

He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find;
And found them not so large as was his mind:
But, like the brave Pellean youth did moan;
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He dy'd, lest he should idle grow at last.

A. COWLEY.

NICHOLAS FERRAR.

——— His state
Is kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed
And post o'er land and ocean without rest:
They also serve who only stand and wait.

MILTON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Life is published, but not without some omissions, from *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar by P. Peckard, D. D. Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Cambridge printed by J. Archdeacon.* 1790. The present edition, it is presumed, is greatly increased in value, by a large accession of very interesting Papers, transcribed from the Lambeth Library, by permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. The notes which are included in brackets, are borrowed from Dr. Peckard.

PREFACE.

THE editor of the following memoirs has been long and frequently solicited to publish the life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, of which it was known that he once had a manuscript account in his possession. It now seems necessary to give a short history of this MS. and the reason why he has hitherto delayed his compliance with the solicitations that have been made to him.

He married the eldest daughter of Mr. Edward Ferrar late of Huntingdon, who by his will left to him his books and papers. Among the latter was a manuscript life of Nicholas Ferrar, entitled, "The complete Church of England Man, &c." written out fair and prepared for the press, from authentic memoirs in the family, by the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck: a gentleman well known to the literary world by his publications relative to various articles of antiquity.

Soon after the death of Mr. Ed. Ferrar, which happened in 1769, the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Sheephall in the county of Hertford, then on a visit to the editor at Huntingdon, requested the perusal of this manuscript, which was granted: and the editor soon after went for some time with his family to Bath. On his return to Huntingdon, he was informed of the sudden death of Mr. Jones, occasioned by a fall from his horse.

Having made all possible enquiry after this MS. in the neighbourhood of Sheephall without effect, the editor called upon a brother of Mr. Jones, who then

then lived near St. Clement's church in the Strand, who undertook to recover and restore it. But he also was prevented doing any thing by his sudden death, which happened in a few days after this application.

Since that time the editor has made all the enquiry both public and private that was in his power, but all to no purpose.

Having now, after near twenty years fruitless enquiry, given up all hopes of recovering his property, the editor nevertheless determines, as far as it is in his power, to gratify the solicitations of his friends with respect to the Life of Mr. Nich. Ferrar. And having found the original MS. from which Mr. Peck composed his work, entitled, "The complete Church of England Man exemplified in the holy Life of Mr. N. Ferrar;" as also some loose and unconnected papers of Mr. Peck's rough draught, he here humbly offers to the public the result of his investigation. And although he has thought it necessary sometimes to change an obsolete phrase for one more modern, or to leave out some passages that might now appear of no weight, or to add now and then a few sentences for the sake of connection, yet in every thing of moment the present production is faithful to the original.

NICHOLAS

NICHOLAS FERRAR.

MR. NICHOLAS FERRAR, though not of exalted rank himself, was of a family highly respectable for that real merit which surpasses antiquity of descent or nobility of title, a family illustrious for virtue.

Gualkeline, or Walkeline de Ferrariis, a Norman of distinction, came into England with William the conqueror. To Henry de Ferrariis, the second of this family, William gave Tutbury and other castles; and more than a hundred and eighty lordships. In process of time the family became very numerous; founded several religious houses; had the honour of peerage; and different branches of it were settled in many different counties.

One line was long since established in Yorkshire, from which was descended Nicholas, the father of that Nicholas to whose memory these imperfect memoirs are dedicated. He was very nearly related to that pious and resolute martyr Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. Davids, who sealed the truth of the protestant religion with his blood, and with these remarkable words after his condemnation to the stake, "If you see me stir in the fire, believe not the doctrine I have taught[1]."

Nicholas

[1] *I have taught.*] [Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to bishop Ferrar a little before his execution, lamented the painfulness of the death he had to suffer. To whom the bishop answered, that if he saw him stir in the pains of his burning, he

Nicholas Ferrar the father was brought up in the profession of a merchant adventurer, and traded very extensively to the East and West Indies, and to all the celebrated seats of commerce. He lived in high repute in the city, where he joined in commercial matters with sir Thomas and sir Hugh Middleton, and Mr. Bateman. He was a man of liberal hospitality, but governed his house with great order. He kept a good table at which he frequently received persons of the greatest eminence, sir John Hawkins, sir Francis Drake, sir Walter Raleigh, and others, with whom he was an adventurer: and in all their expeditions he was ever in the highest degree attentive to the planting the christian religion in the new world. At home also he was a zealous friend to the established church, and always ready to supply his prince with what was required of him. He lent 300l. at once upon a privy seal: a sum at that time not inconsiderable. He had the honour of being written Esq. by Q. Elizabeth: and the exemplification of his arms, is still in the family.

He married Mary Wodenoth, daughter of Laurence Wodenoth, esq. of the ancient family of that name, of Savington hall in Cheshire, where her ancestors in lineal descent had enjoyed that lordship near five hundred years, and were allied to the principal families of that country.

Mary Wodenoth was surpassed by none in comeliness of body or excellence of beauty. She was of modest and sober deportment, and of great pru-

he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said so he right well performed the same. For so patiently he stood that he never moved: but even as he stood holding up his stumps, so still he continued till one Richard Gravel with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so stroke him down. Mar. 30, 1555, Fox, Mart.]

dence. Of few words, yet when she spoke, bishop Lindsel was used to say of her, he knew no woman superior to her in eloquence, true judgment or wisdom, and that few were equal to her in charity towards man, or piety towards God.

This worthy couple lived together many years in harmony and happiness, perfecting their holiness in the fear of God, and in the conscientious practice of every duty. They saw descended from them a numerous, and a virtuous family, of whose education they took uncommon care. They did not spoil their children by absolutely sparing the rod, but what occasional severity they judged to be necessary was so softened by tenderness and affection, as to produce not only the fear of doing amiss, but the love of doing well.

The little instances of corrective discipline exercised by these affectionate parents in the beginning of the seventeenth century, would perhaps excite the derision of the fastidious reader at the end of the eighteenth; they are therefore omitted. Nevertheless they were well calculated to impress the tender mind with a revential awe for the Supreme Being; with obedience to parents, and instructors; with universal and disinterested benevolence; with modesty, with humility, and a proper sense of subordination; with an abhorrence of all vice, but particularly of every species of falshood.

The children born to these virtuous parents were all constantly trained in virtue and religion. Their daily practice was to read, and to speak by memory some portion of the Scriptures, and parts of the Book of Martyrs: they were also made acquainted with such passages of history as were suited to their tender years. They were all instructed in music; in performing on the organ, viol, and lute, and in the theory and practice of singing; in the learned, and

and modern languages; in curious needle-works, and all the accomplishments of that time. The young men, when arrived at years of discretion, had permission each to choose his profession, and then no expence was spared to bring him to a distinguished excellence in it. For this was an invariable maxim with the parents, that having laid a firm foundation in religion and virtue, they would rather give them a good education without wealth, than wealth without a good education.

The parish church and chancel of St. Bennet Sherhog[2] in London, Mr. Ferrar repaired and decently seated at his own expence; and as there was not any morning preacher there, he brought from the country Mr. Francis White, and made him their first lecturer. Mr. White was afterwards advanced to the see of Ely.

When a stranger preached, Mr. Ferrar always invited him to dinner, and if it was discovered that he

[2] *St. Bennet Sherhog.*] [This church was destroyed by the great fire, in which also perished an elegant monument for the time, erected to the memory of Ann, first wife of John Ferrar, a painting of which is still in the possession of the editor of these memoirs.

Stowe, in his Survey of London, describing St. Bennet Sherhog, says, 'There is a fair monument on the east wall of the chancel, with the following inscription,

Grace and religion, with the best of nature
All striving to excel, yet all agreeing
To make one absolute and perfect creature—
Wou'd any see a sight so worth the seeing?
He comes too late: here she lies buried,
With whom they lately liv'd, and now are dead.

In the vault hereby

Lieth buried the body of Ann, the wife of John Ferrar, gentleman and merchant adventurer of this city: daughter of Wm.

he was in any necessity, he never departed without a handsome present. In truth they never were without a clergyman as a companion in their house, or even on their journeys, as they always accustomed themselves to morning and evening prayer.

Nicholas Ferrar, the third son of this worthy couple, was born the 22d and christened the 23d of Feb. 1592, in the parish of St. Mary Stayning in Mark-lane, London. His godfathers do not appear. His godmother was a Mrs. Riggs, wife to captain Riggs, who recommended herself highly to the esteem of Q. Elizabeth, by an heroic act which she performed upon the sea-shore at Dover in 1588, as her story relates at large.

He was a beautiful child of a fair complexion, and light coloured hair. At four years of age he was sent to school, being of a tractable disposition and lively parts. At five he could read perfectly, or repeat with propriety and grace a chapter in the Bible, which the parents made the daily exercise of their children. By the brightness of his parts, and the uncommon strength of his memory he attained with great ease and quickness whatsoever he

Wm. Shepherd, esq. of Great Rowlright in the co. of Oxenford. She departed this life, July 12, 1613, being then about the age of twenty-one years. To whose well deserving memory, this monument is by her said husband erected.

A small gilt engraven plate fastened under the monument has the following inscription,

Here was a bud beginning for her May:
Before her flower, death took her hence away.
But for what cause? that friends might joy the more;
Where their hope is, she flourisheth now before.
She is not lost, but in those joys remain
Where friends may see, and joy in her again.

STOWE, p. 276.]

set

set himself to learn; yet was he also remarkably studious; being a rare instance of the union of the brightest parts with the most intense industry. From the early possession of his mind with ideas of piety and virtue, and a love for historical information, the Bible in his very early years became to him the book above all others most dear and estimable; and next to this in his esteem was Fox's book of Martyrs, from which he could repeat perfectly the history of his near kinsman bishop Ferrar. And when in his riper years he undertook the instruction of the family, he constantly exercised them also in the reading and in the study of these two books. He was particularly fond of all historical relations, and when engaged in this sort of reading, the day did not satisfy him, but he would borrow from the night; insomuch that his mother would frequently seek him out, and force him to partake of some proper recreation. Hence, even in his childhood, his mind was so furnished with historical anecdotes, that he could at any time draw off his schoolfellows from their play, who would eagerly surround him, and with the utmost attention listen to his little tales, always calculated to inspire them with a love of piety and goodness, and excite in them a virtuous imitation.

When he was very young he was entered into Latin at London, at the desire of his master, though others thought it too soon: but he was so eager and diligent in his application that he soon surpassed all his companions.

He was of a grave disposition, and very early shewed a great dislike of every thing that savoured of worldly vanity. In his apparel he wished to be neat, but refused all that was not simple and plain. When bands were making for the children, he earnestly entreated his mother that his might not have

any

any lace upon them, like those of his brothers, but be made little and plain, like those of Mr. Wotton, "for I wish to be a preacher as he is." Mr. Wotton was a learned divine, and reader of divinity in Gresham College. He was frequently at Mr. Ferrar's, and always examined, and exercised young Nicholas, being wonderfully delighted with his ingenuity [3].

He was good natured and tender hearted to the highest degree; so fearful of offending any one, that upon the least apprehension of having given displeasure, he would suddenly weep in the most submissive manner, and appear extremely sorry. His temper was lovely, his countenance pleasing: his constitution was not robust, but he was active, lively, and chearful. Whatsoever he went about he did it with great spirit, and with a diligence and discretion above his years.

And now the parents were informed by their friends, and by Mr. Francis his school-master, that it was time to send him to some greater school where he might have a better opportunity to improve himself in the Latin tongue. It was thereupon resolved to send him and his brother William

[3] *His ingenuity.*] [After the canons of the convocation came forth A.D. 1604, Mr. Anthony Wotton (a very learned and discreet man) was inhibited to preach by Dr. Rich. Bancroft then Bp. of London. Among other things which he was charged with as having uttered out of his chair, the following sentence was objected to (which I have set down as I had it from the mouth of Mr. Roger Fenton, parson of St. Stephen's Walbrook, when the matter was fresh and green, and not many hours old) viz. "God open the eyes of the king, that he may be resolved in the truth without respect of antiquity." This speech was thus construed, 1st. That the king was blind. 2d. That he is wavering. 3d. That he favoureth popery.

From the MS. collections of Mr. Abr. Fleming in my hands. F. P.]

to Euborn, near Newbury in Berkshire, to the house of Mr. Brooks, an old friend, who had many other pupils, who was a religious and good man, but a strict disciplinarian.

While preparations were making for this journey, an event took place which made the deepest and most lively impression upon the mind of young Nicholas, and strongly marks his character, and the bent of his disposition. He was but six years of age, and being one night unable to sleep, a fit of scepticism seized his mind, and gave him the greatest perplexity and uneasiness. He doubted "Whether there was a God?" and if there was, "What was the most acceptable mode of serving him?" In extreme grief he rose at midnight, cold, and frosty, and went down to a grass plat in the garden, where he stood long time sad and pensive, musing, and thinking seriously upon the great doubt which thus extremely perplexed him. At length throwing himself on his face upon the ground, and spreading out his hands, he cried aloud, "Yes, there is, there must be a God: and he, no question, if I duly and earnestly seek it of him, will teach me not only how to know, but how to serve him acceptably. He will be with me all my life here, and at the end will hereafter make me happy."

These are exalted, and wonderful sentiments for a child of six years old: and this anecdote may influence the reader to give credit to those sublime ecstasies of devotion which he experienced and expressed at the close of his life.

His doubts now vanished, his mind became easy, and he returned to his apartment: but the remembrance of what he felt upon this occasion made him ever after strongly commiserate all who laboured under any religious doubt, or despair of mind.

And

And in the future course of his life he had repeated opportunities to exert his benevolence to those who experienced a similar unhappiness.

In the year 1598, he was sent to Euborn school, near Newbury in Berkshire, where he made such a rapid progress in Latin, Greek, and logic, that he soon became the first scholar of his years. He strengthened his memory by daily exercise: he was a great proficient in writing and arithmetic, and attained such excellence in short hand, as to be able to take accurately a sermon or speech on any occasion. He was also well skilled both in the theory and practice of vocal and instrumental music.

Thus accomplished, in his fourteenth year, his master, Mr. Brooks, prevailed with his parents to send him to Cambridge, whither he himself attended him, and admitted him of Clare-hall, presenting him, with due commendation of his uncommon abilities to Mr. Augustin Lindsell, the tutor, and Dr. Wm. Smith, then master of the college.

His parents thought proper, notwithstanding the remonstrance of some friends against it, to admit him a pensioner for the first year; as they conceived it more for his good, to rise by merit gradually to honour. In this situation, by excellent demeanour, and diligent application to his studies, he so deported himself in all things, and to all persons, that he instantly gained the affections and applause of all who knew him, performing all his exercises with distinguished approbation.

Mr. Lindsell spared not to make full proof of his abilities, wishing, as he was used to express himself, to see his inside, as well as his outside. He therefore made many trials of his abilities, which the rest of the fellows thought unreasonable; saying

"it was a shame to spur a fleet horse, which already outwent the rider's own desire, and won every race he put him to." When they urged that he required impossibilities, he would reply, "content yourselves a little, you shall see what the boy can do, and that too without much trouble." These proofs of wonderful abilities were continually repeated, and he thus went on from day to day improving in all good learning. His attention and diligence was such, that it was observed, his chamber might be known by the candle that was last put out at night, and the first lighted in the morning. Nor was he less diligent in his attendance at chapel, than at his studies, so that his piety and learning went on hand in hand together.

In his second year he became fellow-commoner, and being now every day more and more the companion of the fellows, he every day became more and more esteemed by them. In 1610, he took his degree of bachelor of arts. At this time he was appointed to make the speech on the king's coronation day (July 25) in the college hall; and the same year he was elected fellow of that society.

If we take a view of him at this period when he became fellow, we shall find that his natural parts were wonderfully improved, his memory so enlarged and strengthened, that he had read nothing of worth, but he had made it his own, and could always instantly apply it to the present occasion. He spoke also and wrote, and argued with such ingenious dexterity that very few indeed were equal to him. Nevertheless he was still so eager in the pursuit of farther acquisitions, that industry and genius seemed to be incorporated in him. Nor was he more attentive to his own instruction, than to the happiness of all with whom he was concerned. For he

he was a constant and indefatigable promoter of peace; and when any difference had arisen, he had the art so to win upon each side, that he would draw the contending parties from their unfriendly resolutions, and reanimate and establish harmony between them. Mr. Lindsell was used to say of him, "May God keep him in a right mind! For if he should turn schismatic, or heretic, he would make work for all the world. Such a head, such power of argument! such a tongue, and such a pen! such a memory withal he hath, with such indefatigable pains, that, all these joined together, I know not who would be able to contend with him."

His constitution was of feminine delicacy, and he was very subject to aguish disorders; yet he bore them out in a great measure by his temperance, and by a peculiar courageousness of spirit which was natural to him. His favourite sister, married to Mr. Collet, lived at Bourn Bridge, near Cambridge. And as the air of Cambridge was found not well to agree with him, he made frequent excursions to Bourn Bridge, where he passed his time in the pursuit of his studies, and in the instruction of his sister's children.

But his tutor, Mr. Lindsell, Mr. Ruggle[4], and others of the fellows having now apprehension of his

[4] *Mr. Ruggle.*] [Mr. Ruggle wrote the Latin comedy of Ignoramus, which was several times acted before K. James I. at Cambridge, and Royston with great applause. At one of which times the king cried out treason, treason. And being asked what was the matter, said, he believed the author, and the actors together had a design to make him laugh himself to death. Another time when the king was seated, and expected the scholars to perform, he was surprised with the sound of a horn, and the appearance of a post-boy, who said that Ignoramus was ready to perform his part, but that none of the lawyers would lend him a gown to act in. Ah! said the king (who

his health, carried him to Dr. Butler, the celebrated physician, of Cambridge, who had been of Clare-hall, and was a particular friend of Mr. Lindsell. Dr. Butler conceived a great affection for Mr. Ferrar, and exerted all his skill; yet still the disorder increased more and more upon him; and at length this good physician said, "Why should I give thee any more prescriptions? all I can do will not conquer this distemper. Alas! all I can say is, you must henceforth deal with this disorder when it comes to you, as men do with beggars, when they have a mind to disuse them from their houses, give them nothing but let them go as they came. You must through a spare diet, and great temperance, even all your life long, seek to be quit of this unhappy companion: he must be starved away."

For some time after this Mr. Ferrar grew better, but soon relapsed again, and in the autumn of 1612, he began to grow very ill. His friends now feared he would not get over the winter. Dr. Butler said, "I can do no more for him, the last remedy, or hope I can give you is from the change of air. He must go in the spring to travel. I doubt not but I can keep him up this winter, and if travel recover him not, nothing will. Besides, it is high time his mind be taken off from these his incessant studies; these alone, if he be permitted to go on, will speedily destroy his constitution. The course

(who was deceived, and took the scholar for a real post-boy) this is a plot of Cukes! (meaning the Ld. C. Justice Coke.) But if Cuke won't let the lawyers lend him a gown, by my saul, man, he shall lend him his own. This speech of the king put the audience into an exceeding merry humour, and the play went on. But it is suggested that the play of Ignoramus acted at Cambridge, 1614, occasioned Mr. Selden's History of Tithes, published, 1616, in order to be even with the clergy. See Lloyd's Memoirs, fol. p. 520. F. P.]

I propose may prolong his life till he is thirty-five years of age; but longer, in my judgment, it will not last. In the mean time he will live to do great good. And think not that his time spent in travel will be lost; no: depend upon it he will improve himself greatly. Mr. Lindsell go your way; think of it: persuade his parents to it. I can say no more to you. Let him go next spring. I will take care of him this winter." And so he did most affectionately.

Mr. Ferrar was now almost seven years standing in the University, and was to take his master or arts degree at the ensuing Midsummer, 1713; and he had already performed with great credit all his previous exercises.

It being made known to the heads of the University that he was to travel, and to have the opportunity of going with that noble company which then went with the lady Elizabeth to conduct her to the palatinate with the palsgrave her husband, it was propounded that he might have the favour or cap and hood immediately, though before the usual time, so as to be complete master of arts, before his departure, which was readily granted, and immediately his graces were given him. And now many came to present their most affectionate wishes to him for health and happiness in his travels. And thus he bade Cambridge adieu!

All things being settled with respect to his going abroad, Mr. Ferrar left the following written farewell to his family, which his mother found in his study a few days after he was gone.

"Since there is nothing more certain than death, nor more uncertain than the time when; I have thought it the first and chiefest wisdom for a man to prepare himself for that which must one day come,

come, and always be ready for that which may every hour happen: especially considering how dangerous any error is here, which cannot be amended: neither is any one the nearer to death for having prepared for it. It is then a thing of exceeding madness and folly to be negligent in so weighty a matter, in respect whereof all other things are trifles. I here confess my own wretchedness and folly in this, that through the common hope of youth, I have set death far from me: and persuading myself that I had a long way to go, have walked more carelessly than I ought. The good Lord God be merciful unto me.

"Indeed I have a long way to run, if death stood still at the end of threescore years: but God knows if he be not running against me, if he be not ready to grasp me, especially considering the many dangers wherein I am now to hazard myself, in every one whereof death dwells. If God be merciful to me, and bring me safe home again, I will all the days of my life serve him in his tabernacle, and in his holy sanctuary.

"I hope he who hath begun this mind in me will continue it, and make me to walk so as I may be always ready for him, when he shall come either in the public judgment of all the world, or in private judgment to me by death. This is my purpose and this shall be my labour.

"And you, my most dear parents, if God shall take me from you, I beseech you be of good comfort, and be not grieved at my death, which I undoubtedly hope shall be to me the beginning of eternal happiness. It was God that gave me to you, and if he take me from you, be not only content but joyful that I am delivered from the vale of misery. This God that hath kept me ever since I was born, will preserve me to the end, and will give

give me grace to live in his faith, to die in his favour, to rest in his peace, to rise in his power, and to reign in his glory.

"I know, my most dear parents, your tender affections towards your children, and fear your grief if God take me away. I therefore write and leave this, that you might know your son's estate, and assure yourselves that though he be dead to you, yet he is alive to God.

"I now most humbly beseech you to pardon me in whatsoever I may have at any time displeased you: and I pray God to bless and keep you: to give you a happy life here, and everlasting in the world to come.

Your most humble and obedient son

N. FERRAR."

"Postscript,

"My dearest brothers and sisters, if I live, you shall find me a faithful and loving brother unto you all: if I die, I beseech you by the fear of God, by the duty to your parents, by the bond of nature, by the love you bear me, that you all agree in perfect love and amity; and account every one the other's burthen to be his; so may plenty and prosperity dwell among you. So prays your faithful and loving brother

N. FERRAR."

"If I die, I desire that the value of 5l. of my books may be given to the college: the rest I leave to my father's and mother's disposing: yet I desire that in them my worthy tutor Lindsel and cousin Theophilus may be remembered: and if any of my sisters sons prove a scholar, the rest may be given to him.

This 10th day of April, being Sunday."

His

His parents consent, and the college license obtained, and the favour of the University granted with respect to his degree, Mr. Ferrar prepared to set out upon his travels. A course of life undertaken upon Dr. Butler's counsel, for the restoration of his health, and to take him off from his incessant application to his studies. He also himself had a desire to see foreign countries for the farther acquisition of knowledge. And as he well understood the grounds of the protestant religion, and was convinced of its truth on scriptural authority, as he had read most of the fathers, and controversial writings between the church of England and the church of Rome, and as he had a memory so retentive, that he forgot nothing which he had read, but was able at all times, to bring it forth, and apply it to the present occasion, being thus armed before hand against whatever might occur, and relying wholly upon the mercy of God to protect him, with the most virtuous resolutions of heart he set out upon his travels.

His tutor Lindsell solemnly protested that had he not perfectly known his wonderful abilities and uncommon virtue, he should not in these so tender years of his pupil have been a promoter of his travelling in the manner he did, all alone; but would have provided some worthy tutor to attend him. He knew that in all virtue Nicholas Ferrar was an old man, so firmly fixed in his religious principles, that there was no fear of his being seduced by any thing that he should hear or see. He knew that the stock of learning, wisdom and religion which he carried out with him, would be increased at his return.

With these encouragements did Mr. Lindsell appease the fears and tender anxieties of his parents at parting with him: for they bade him farewell under

under the dread of never seeing him again. And indeed not without reason: for he was then far from being recovered of his aguish disorder: but Dr. Butler said the sea would remove it, and they would soon hear that he was freed from his infirmity.

Sometime before this, Dr. Scot, the king's sub-almoner, was made master of Clare hall, in the place of Dr. Smith, removed to be provost of Kings. He conceived a high respect and affection for Nicholas Ferrar, and undertook that he should be introduced to the lady Elizabeth, to go in her company and retinue; she being now ready to depart with the prince palsgrave her husband, who were to go first to Zealand, then to Holland, and from thence home to the palatinate. Dr. Scot therefore took Mr. Ferrar to court, to kiss her royal highness' hand: not now in the garb of a scholar, but habited as one of the gentlemen who belonged to her. As for him he took no delight in these gay garments, but submitted from a sense of propriety to be thus clad, and to satisfy his friends more than himself. Dr. Scot also introduced him, and procured him the knowledge and acquaintance of the whole attendance of the English courtiers who then went with the lady Elizabeth.

Being now provided with his bills of exchange, he went in the same ship with the master of the green cloth, who took an especial liking to him. They arrived happily at Flushing, where the royal fleet landed their passengers. And in this voyage Mr. Ferrar found the benefit of the sea air, which, as Dr. Butler told him it would, cleared him of all the remains of his disorder. At Middleburgh the lady Elizabeth was highly entertained and feasted with all her noble attendants; and Mr. Ferrar as one of her gentlemen wanted for no marks of due notice

notice and respect. Here he made strict observation of every thing worth seeing, and gained a sufficient acquaintance with the language to serve him for all ordinary affairs and occasions. From thence the lady Elizabeth passed on from city to city in all which she was received with great honour, and came to the Hague: from thence to Amsterdam, where she was more magnificently entertained than at any former place. In all these towns Mr. Ferrar visited the several meeting houses of the Brownists, anabaptists, and other protestant dissenters, both to observe their manners and teaching, and to see if all were answerable to his own former reading. At all which times he noted their errors, and greatly confirmed himself in his own opinions. The Jews synagogue likewise he left not unseen, and their orders. But that which chiefly attracted his notice at Amsterdam was their guest, or almshouses, where young children of both sexes are brought up to learn handicrafts. Here he got particular information of all their proceedings, and very liberally rewarded the attendants. He particularly admired the stateliness, and neatness of the Dutch in these public edifices, and the wonderful good orders and rules by which they are governed. He also visited their churches, heard their sermons, and attended all their religious rites and ceremonies. He next observed their magazines for all sorts of stores: their innumerable boats and ships, and noted the different way of building from ours in the structure of their war ships. Ours he perceived were stronger made, but theirs formed with more advantage for speedy sailing. He was also charmed with their cleanliness and the many good orders every where observed to that intent. And he observed that the whole nation kept their houses elegantly neat in all places. When he came to his lodgings he regularly entered

all

all his observations in a book which he kept for that purpose.

The princess royal now directed her course towards the palatinate, which was different from the route intended by Mr. Ferrar, who had resolved to pass through the lower parts of Westphalia, and so to Bremen, Staad, Hamburgh, Lunenburgh, Lubeck, Leipsic, and so on to the upper parts of Germany. This his determination he made known to the lady Elizabeth's chief attendants, who warmly pressed him to accompany them to Heidelburg, the palsgrave's court, and the chief city of the palatinate. They told him that her highness had taken such good notice of him herself, and had heard so much of him from the commendations of others, that if he sought preferment by his travels, he might now, even at the first, make a very fair step towards it. There was no doubt but he might be made her secretary, that she would think him well worthy of that place, and might recommend him to a better. He humbly thanked them for their good opinion, but assured them they were mistaken in his abilities. He was then introduced to her royal highness, and kissed her hand, who bade him farewell, and wished him much happiness in his travels.

Mr. Ferrar now set forward on his journey from Amsterdam to Hamburgh, and on his way thither he travelled for some time with a person for his guide, who had but one eye. After some days travel they passed by a wood, where was a gibbet and some bodies hanging in chains. "Now," said the postman, "sir, look yonder, those villains there hanging, some years since set upon my waggon, wherein were an English youth, and a Hamburgh merchant, then newly come out of

Spain,

Spain. The rogues carried us into that wood on a cold frosty morning and stripped us: and they found good gold tied up in the shirts of the gentlemen who had travelled with me, which they took, then drank up our wine, and went away laughing. But sometime after, they, still using the same trade, set upon another waggon, whose passengers made some resistance, when they shot three of them dead in the waggon, and then fled. They were afterwards taken and there hanged as you see." "Your history is true," said Mr. Ferrar, "For that English youth was my brother. He has told me this story himself. And when I first saw you, I knew you to be the postman with whom he travelled, for he described you as having but one eye."

At length he arrived at Hamburgh, where the factors of the merchant adventurers were resident, to whom his father and brother were well known. Here he found fresh bills of exchange, and letters from his father to Mr. Gore, his old acquaintance, and then deputy governor of the company; who received Mr. Ferrar with great friendship and respect, and provided a convenient lodging for him. During his stay here he procured a scholar of that country to attend him daily at his lodgings, and instruct him in the high Dutch language, in which he made such a proficiency as to be of great service in the course of his travels. Here also in the afternoon he spent some hours in examining the curiosities in this city, and in the places adjacent. And here he informed himself by reading the histories in the Dutch language, and by discourse with men of learning in the place, of the original of this and the neighbouring cities: of their several sorts of government: their religion: ecclesiastical establishment:

establishment: their trades: their commerce: the nature and disposition of the people, and their particular virtues and vices.

From Hamburgh Mr. Ferrar travelled up the country through many cities, at each of which he staid a sufficient time to see, and make observations upon all things worthy of notice, which he regularly entered into his book for that use in short hand.

In this manner he passed up to the University of Leipsic in Saxony: where, having proper letters of credit, he resolved to abide for some time, both to perfect himself in the high Dutch language, and to gain also what other knowledge and learning he could in that place; and to acquaint himself with the manner of ordering all things in that University. He lodged himself therefore in a principal house of that city, which by a friend's help he obtained permission to do; and the people there were very civil and courteous to him. The English factors shewed him much respect, and were greatly delighted with his pleasant disposition and temper. And they were the more taken with him when they saw that he would not upon any terms drink wine or any strong drink, and had also observed his great temperance in all things, and that he was very humble and meek in his behaviour. Yet still they saw him gallant and rich in apparel. But that fashion of dress his parents thought was the best for him to make use of in his travels, that so, according to the mode of the world, he might have the easier admittance into all places, and all respectable company.

At Leipsic he made enquiry after all the ablest scholars in every art and science in that University, who could be procured for money to teach him; and he paid them all most liberally, and far beyond their

their expectations. From these circumstances he was thought to be some person of great account. These his several tutors coming to him at set times, and on several days, and his personal resorting with the utmost diligence to all the exercises performed in the public schools, made him to be very much noticed. He gained great reputation for his uncommon abilities, his diligence, and his sweet deportment; his extraordinary quickness in attaining whatsoever he set himself to, the elegant Latin which he spake with the utmost readiness, and his abundant knowledge in several sorts of learning. The universal admiration he obtained was also much heightened by his being so very young. His acquaintance was desired by all the learned men of that University: and he being free in all courtesy to enter into discourse with them, many every day resorted to him. But finding that this took up too much of his time, he privately retired into lodgings in a village in the neighbourhood, and there enjoyed a better opportunity to follow the studies he had resolved upon; his tutors attending him as they had done before. And here he passed some time in reading over the best authors who had written on the German nation, and in acquainting himself with the nature of the government, laws, and customs.

The connection of the English factors at Leipsic with their principals at home soon transmitted the fame of Nicholas Ferrar to England, who was deemed and represented as a person who had some great intent in his mind, but that it was feared by all that he could not live to be a man of any considerable years.

As on one hand his parents could not but rejoice on hearing these accounts, so on the other they could not help fearing that his extreme application might,

might, though at present he was in perfect health, nevertheless decay his strength, and shorten his life. They therefore exhorted him to curb his too diligent mind, and to abate of his incessant studies, for that they would allow him what time and money he would for his expences.

Having now learned what he could at Leipsic, he departed from thence for Prague, and there he abode a considerable time, till he was able to converse fluently in the high Dutch language. From thence he wandered up and down, to every great place here and there, sometimes backwards, sometimes forward, visiting Augsburg, Strasburg, Nuremburg, Ulme, Spires, the emperor's court, and so from one prince's court to another, observing every where their manner of living, and spending their time; what magazines of arms they had; what retinues they kept; what their incomes were: from whence they had their origin; what had been their revolutions; and accurately noting down whatever Germany had in any place worth recording. There being also in several parts of Germany very ingenious handicrafts of various sorts, in all these he acquired a considerable degree of knowledge. So that there was scarce any trade, art, skill or science concerning which he could not discourse to the astonishment even of the professors themselves in their respective professions. He was master also of the technical terms of their several mysteries, and could speak properly to them in their own dialect. He could express all those things that belong to war, soldiery, and arms, all that belong to ships, and navigation, and was perfect in all the mariners peculiar phrases, and in all the particularities of every trade and occupation in common life. And in truth all this without any great care or trouble. For his penetration was so acute,

and his memory so vast, and retentive; that every thing he read, or heard, or saw was all his own, and he could instantly apply it to the occasion that presented itself, as all who knew him found by daily proof.

From Germany, Nicholas Ferrar bent his course for Italy. But the plague being at that time in many towns of Germany, when he came into the Venetian territories, he was obliged to remain thirty days in one place in a lazaretto, where he was shut up for public security; but was allowed a chamber to himself. Here he had leisure to recollect all those things, which to that time had passed in his travels; to review his notes and observations, which he had before all along put into short hand; and to digest them into better order for his future use. Here also he had time to meditate what he was to do in Italy; how to order himself and his future life to the best advantage to attain his several ends in travel.

Having compleated the thirty days of his confinement, and being again at liberty to prosecute his journey, it may not be amiss to relate a remarkable escape he had upon the road between Prague and Padua. As he rode one day upon some very narrow and dangerous passages of the Alps, his guide being somewhat before him, suddenly from the side of a hill came an ass laden with a great piece of timber. The passage down the hill was extremely narrow, on one side very high and precipitous above him, and on the other also precipitously steep and fearful, so that if any man fell, nothing but immediate death could be expected. The timber did not lie, as at first laid on, lengthwise, but quite across the ass's back, and reached the whole breadth of the pass from one side to the other, and the beast came down the hill apace.

The

The guide who was advanced a few yards, and had passed the narrow crevice through which the ass came into the common road, seeing Mr. Ferrar's situation, cried out in terror. The man's exclamation caused Mr. Ferrar to look up, who was carefully regarding his horse's steps, and was then upon the extreme brink of the precipice. There was but a moment between him and certain destruction; when in that moment, just as the beast came upon him she tripped, and by that motion the timber was turned the right way as it was at first laid on. Mr. Ferrar then suddenly stopping his horse upon the very edge of the precipice, there stood still, till, as it pleased God, the beast went quietly on with her burthen, and passed him without any harm but a slight stroke from the timber. After this providential escape, for which he returned his most devout thanks to God, he proceeded on his road to Padua, and so on to Venice without any other disaster.

At Venice Mr. Ferrar found letters of recommendation directed for sir Dudley Carleton, at that time the English ambassador there, which he presented to him, who most courteously embraced him, saying, "I have a long time expected your coming to Venice; for I have received several letters from many noble personages concerning you. And now, sir, assure yourself that wherein I may in any kind befriend you, I shall most gladly do it." The ambassador then caused him to dine with him, and invited him, he said, once for all to do so every day. Mr. Ferrar frequently repaired to him that he might inform himself from so eminent a person of those things that might be of service to him in his future travels.

Having now staid a convenient time at Venice, he returned to Padua, which before he had only

passed through, but now resolved to settle there for some time; in order to perfect himself in all the learning and knowledge to be attained in that University. Here therefore he procured tutors in those sciences in which he intended to be farther instructed. And he won their highest admiration at his ingenious questions and answers, his ready apprehension, his earnest prosecution, and his wonderful proficiency, in so many and such various studies, which at the same time seemed to him no other than so many several recreations. His acquaintance was courted by all the learned men in the University, but particularly by the most eminent physicians; as he bestowed uncommon diligence in the pursuit of medical knowledge. And this he did from a double motive, both because he held the physic fellowship at Clare Hall, and also on account of the infirm, and precarious state of his own health: in which respect a proper proficiency in the science of medicine might be peculiarly serviceable to him. And now his friendship with the Paduan physicians, and their high esteem and great love for him, was of singular benefit to him: for he fell very dangerously ill of a disorder, which in all human probability would have proved fatal, had it not been for their watchful care, and most tender attentions.

It has been suggested by Mr. Archdeacon Oley *, that some of these Paduan physicians, during Mr. Ferrar's illness endeavoured to seduce him to popery: as also, that upon his recovery from this illness, he made a vow of perpetual celibacy: and that he would upon his return to England, as soon as he could conveniently, settle his affairs for that purpose, and endeavour to spend the remainder of

* [Postscript to Mr. Herbert's Country Parson. F. P.]

his

his life in a religious retirement. But of these articles I do not find sufficient evidence: yet if the latter be true, it will account for a very remarkable instance of self-denial, which will occur in the future part of his life.

While Mr. Ferrar continued thus at Padua, to establish his health, and pursue his studies, he had an opportunity of exercising his great faculty in quieting a troubled mind. For now an English gentleman came thither, who by the impious custom of duelling had killed another, and had fled from his country to avoid the punishment which the laws adjudge to murderers. He was under the deepest melancholy, but concealed the cause of his uneasiness. At length however he acquainted Mr. Ferrar with his misfortune, declaring his great contrition, and sincere repentance; and beseeching him to give him counsel and comfort. Mr. Ferrar by his spiritual consolations, his persuasive arguments, and wonderful power over the human mind, at length made the unhappy sufferer more easy and composed, and confirmed him in the hope of forgiveness. And this event laid the foundation of a sincere and most affectionate friendship between them *.

Mr. Ferrar thus passing his time between Venice and Padua in a course of learning and virtue, and in the most laudable pursuits, he was much sought after, and visited by the English who were then also on their travels; who were delighted with his conversation, notwithstanding that his way of life and manner of thinking were very different from their own: and they would often ingenuously confess that he was certainly in the right way, and

* [This unfortunate gentleman is the person who in the original MS. is frequently referred to as Mr. G.——]

that

that they could not but wish they could live as he lived.

These gentlemen on their return to England spoke of him in the highest terms of applause to their respective families and connections. The Italian merchants also and the English factors resident in different parts of Italy, with whom he had transactions on money concerns, all wrote of him to their correspondents in England, with the warmest commendations, considering him as one who had some great object in view, and would sometime appear to the world possessed of very extraordinary talents. Thus his reputation became general, on the Exchange, in the city, at court, and all over the country he was universally known and universally admired.

Having now finished his intended studies, having traversed all Italy, and become intimately acquainted with every place of consequence, being perfect master of the Italian language, both for writing and discourse, having an accurate knowledge of all their laws, customs, manners, doctrines, and practices, civil and ecclesiastic, and having made the best use of every thing he had heard, read, or seen, and being determined as to his future plan of conduct, he resolved at last to pay a visit to imperial Rome. He knew indeed before he went thither, as much of that celebrated city, both antient and modern, as could be learned from history, and from conversation with many persons of great judgment and observation, who had lately been there: but he was desirous to confirm what he had learned by information from others, by his own observation. But having been well informed that since he came into Italy, there had been a particular account of him sent to Rome, of the college of which he was fellow in Cambridge, of his

his degrees, and his acquisitions in learning, and particularly that his person had been described in all points to the college of Jesuits there; the manner also in which he had spent his time in Italy, with the general conjecture, that he surely had some farther end in travelling, than other gentlemen ordinarily have: all this duly considered made him keep his intention very private. For he foresaw that without great caution some mischief might probably befal him. Changing his habit therefore for such a dress as he thought was most proper for his disguise, and safety, he set forward concealing the time when, and keeping the place from whence he came always unknown to all but one trusty friend only, the unfortunate Mr. G.——who, whatever should befal him in that journey, might give an account of him to his family. He travelled on foot, and contrived his business so that he came to Rome on the Monday before Easter; and during his stay there, he every day changed his lodgings, coming in late and going out early: and as to his repast, such as it was, he took that also sometimes at one place, sometimes at another, and sometimes at none at all. He staid at Rome about ten days, and in that time he so improved his opportunities as that he satisfied himself in seeing all that he desired. But the particulars need not be here recited, as they may be found in many other books upon this subject.

From Rome he returned to Venice, not acquainting any one where he had been. At his return he was welcomed home by the English gentlemen, and all his other acquaintance; as was the custom with them at other times, after his other excursions. In one of these, he went to see the chapel of Loretto. From thence he went to Malta, where one of the knights conceiving a particular friendship

ship for him, at their parting desired his acceptance of one of the rich crosses worn by the brethren of that order, entreating him to keep it for his sake; and thus exchanging mutual good wishes and benedictions, Mr. Ferrar returned again to Venice.

And now intending at length to leave Italy, he went from Venice to Marseilles, purposing after he had passed sufficient time in that city, for visiting what was remarkable there and in the parts adjacent, to take ship there and sail from thence to Spain.

But at Marseilles he fell dangerously ill, being suddenly seized with a violent fever, which daily grew worse and worse. And what added to his misfortune, he knew no one in the place, nor had he any of his former acquaintance with him. In this distress he sent for the most celebrated physician in the city, and trusted himself entirely to his care. He was very regular in his attendance, and was very careful of him. His host also and hostess where he lodged shewed great tenderness and attention to him.

The first day he was taken ill he wrote to his much-loved friend whom he had left at Venice, the unfortunate Mr. G. to whom he had promised to give information of his arrival at Marseilles. In this letter he acquainted him that he was beginning to grow ill, and feared his illness would prove both long and dangerous. Nor was he mistaken, for his illness continued thirty four days, and his physician was for a long time in absolute despair of his life. This made his attendants desirous to know who he was, which Mr. Ferrar industriously concealed. But one day, as they were looking amongst his things for something he had called for, carefully wrapped up in a little box,

box, was discovered the rich cross which was presented to him by his friend the knight of Malta, at his departure from that island. At sight of this, the host and hostess, and the physician presently concluded that he was a knight of that order, who was travelling unknown, and they earnestly entreated him no longer to conceal himself. Mr. Ferrar in vain endeavoured to convince them of the mistake, assuring them that he was only a private gentlemen, travelling for amusement and instruction; for the more he affirmed this, the more they were confirmed in their own opinion. His disorder still continuing excessive, the physician had given him up for lost. But at the very moment when all hope was gone, a favourable crisis took place; and though he was extremely weak, and reduced to the lowest degree, yet he soon appeared to be in a fair way of recovery.

And now word was brought to him that there was a gentleman below, just arrived from Venice, who demanded to see him. They who know what true friendship is, need not to be informed that this person could be no other than his dear and unfortunate friend Mr. G. When he came into Mr. Ferrar's room, and beheld his friend lying on the bed of sickness, so pale, weak, and reduced, he burst into tears. His friend was equally affected, seeing him so unexpectedly. They mutually embraced, and a long, and affectionately expressive silence ensued: for their hearts were so full, that neither could for some time speak to the other. At length Mr. Ferrar told him how welcome he was to him, who but yesterday expected never to see him more. Mr. G. replied, that on the receipt of his letter he became so deeply afflicted, that he could not rest day or night, till he should see him. That if he should find him still sick, he might abide with

him

him and take care of him: that if he should die, he might perform the due honours of burial; and that if he should recover, he might rejoice with him on that happy occasion, and in every respect shew him that unfeigned friendship which was justly due to his uncommon virtue.

As a sincere and affectionate friend is perhaps the most effectual medicine that can be administered to the sick, so by the endearing attentions of the benevolent Mr. G. Mr. Ferrar every day advanced apace in his recovery. And when he was thought to be out of danger, Mr. G. said he must at last bid him farewel, and return to Venice. "Yes," said Mr. Ferrar, "You shall now return to Venice, but I will return with you. For as you have been so very kind as to come so far to take care of me when I was ill, and have likewise staid so long with me, it is but justice, and the least return I can make, to see you safe back;" nor would he take any refusal; and so they returned together to Venice. From this place Mr. Ferrar immediately gave his parents an account of his cruel sickness, and recovery at Marseilles in a very affectionate letter bearing date April 1616.

Having staid at Venice till he was perfectly recovered, and his strength thoroughly recruited, he took his last leave of all his friends and acquaintance there; but particularly of his dear friend Mr. G. who at their parting presented him with an excellent and costly rapier, saying that perhaps it might be of great use to him in his future travels, and wished him to keep it as a testimony of his friendship. And now these dear friends with the warmest affection bade each other adieu! for in the gulph of Venice a small English vessel was ready to sail for Spain, and Mr. Ferrar resolved to take his passage in her, that so he might travel through

Spain,

Spain, and see that kingdom, after which he purposed in like manner to see France and so return home.

The ship, in which Mr. Ferrar left Venice, carried only ten pieces of ordnance, but was overloaded, though there were no passengers but himself. They had not been long at sea, before a large ship, a Turkish pirate, gave them chace, and gained speedily upon them. And there being some difference of opinion between the officers, and mariners, whether they ought to yield, or fight it out: they referred their doubts to Mr. Ferrar, who had stood silent among them attending to their debate. They said, "This young gentleman has a life to lose, as well as we; let us hear what he thinks of the matter." For from his first coming on board, upon discourse with him, they had taken a great liking to him, perceiving that he had great skill in maritime affairs.

Mr. Ferrar being thus applied to in form for his opinion, resolutely told them that they ought to fight it out, and put their trust in God. That it was better to die valiantly, than be carried into slavery. That God could easily deliver them, and he hoped would not suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemy. He then put them in mind of the many sea engagements atchieved by their countrymen, in which the victory had been gained against superior numbers. Thus encouraged, his words were so prevalent, that with all speed they made ready to defend themselves, committing their cause to the protection of God. And to shew that they were not deficient in English spirit, they, having the advantage of the wind, and a fit opportunity, determined to give their enemy a broadside: when, lo! just as the master was giving the word to the gunner to fire, the Turkish ship to their great astonishment

nishment fell off, and steered away from them with all the sail she could make. They soon perceived that this unexpected movement was from the discovery of another ship, which, they supposed, was thought to be a better booty. The Turk being gone they proceeded on their voyage, and without any farther difficulty arrived at their destined port in Spain.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Ferrar determined to see Madrid, and the king's court, and whatever else was worth notice in that part of the country. But having spent some time at Madrid, he had also spent almost all the money he had brought with him from Venice. He therefore made an enquiry whether there were any bills of exchange, or letters for him, directed to some of the English merchants in that city, but could not hear of any; for he had reached Madrid long before his father thought he could be there. In making this enquiry, he carried the matter so, as if it was for a gentleman of the name of Ferrar, who, he expected would be there about that time: for he was resolved, if possible, not to discover himself. But it happened that a Mr. Wyche, the son of a merchant, a particular friend of Mr. Ferrar's father, was at that time at Madrid. And he being informed that this young gentleman and stranger made frequent enquiry after one of the name of Ferrar, kept an observant eye upon him. And perceiving something very extraordinary in his genteel deportment, in the wisdom, and the wit of his conversation, and his great knowledge in languages, he concluded him to be some person of high fashion, who was desirous to travel unknown: and thereupon, both himself, and all the English established there, made him an offer of all the civilities in their power.

But as he was now at a stand how to proceed, and

and what course to take in order to pass through Spain, and then through France home, and being uneasy that no bills of exchange were come for such a one as he enquired after, he suddenly determined to travel no farther at present; but immediately to make the best of his way to England, and in order to this, to travel on foot as well as he could to St. Sebastians, and there take ship for his native country.

In preparation for this expedition, as he still resolved, if possible, to keep himself unknown, he privately sold his cloak, and some jewels which he had by him, to supply his present occasions, and provide for his future wants in his journey. At quitting Madrid he took leave of Mr. Wyche, and the other English merchants, with acknowledgments of their many civilities to him. At which time Mr. Wyche made him an offer of what money he might want, which Mr. Ferrar politely declined.

And now he set forward on foot, with the rich rapier in his hand presented to him by his dear friend Mr. G. without a cloak, in his doublet and cassock. And with many a weary step, and very few accommodations, he pursued his journey, till he found his feet after a few days travelling on the hot sands of that country to become quite wearied, and the skin to come off, so that it was excessively painful to him to proceed. One night his hostess where he lodged, seeing he was a young foot traveller, and that he suffered greatly from the torment of his feet, prescribed to him to bathe and steep his feet for a considerable time in a bowl of sack which she brought for that purpose. This gave him immediate ease, and enabled him to proceed comfortably on his journey the next morning, and

by

by future applications prevented all future inconveniences of that sort.

His reason for travelling always with his rapier in his hand, was not only to be instantly upon his defence in case of any sudden attack, but that he might also pass the more readily in all places as a young gentleman soldier, going towards Flanders to serve the king of Spain, under Spinola. And upon the way at all fit times, and places, as he travelled, he seemed to be very inquisitive about Spinola, and what he was doing in Flanders; so that all with whom he had any discourse of this sort, took him for an Italian. But at one place where he passed the night, the governor being informed of a stranger, who lodged in the town, examined him strictly in many particulars. And Mr. Ferrar made him such wary answers, that he was at a loss what farther to say to him. At last casting his eyes upon the rapier, he told him that costly rapier was unbefitting him, for he knew not how he came by it, and therefore he would have it from him. Mr. Ferrar told him he must pardon him in not parting with his weapon, which a soldier ought to preserve as his life; adding that it was given him by a dear and worthy friend, who enjoined him to keep it, and that he was determined so to do. But this did not satisfy the governor, who told him that stout as he was he should deliver the rapier to him before he departed, or he would make him repent his refusal. Mr. Ferrar replied, that he hoped there was more justice to be found every where in Spain, than to take by force an innocent traveller's weapon from him. That he had not in any thing offended Cæsar, or his laws, or the customs of his country since he was in it; and that he would be cautious not to do so during the remainder of

his stay. That he came very lately from the king's court, and that he had friends there who would not suffer him to receive any wrong. From this wise and resolute answer, his determined behaviour, and a style of language so far above his outward appearance, the standers by concluded him to be some other man than his habit declared, and advised the governor to meddle no more with him about the rapier. Who, then addressing himself to Mr. Ferrar, said, "Well, I perceive you are a young Italian gentleman, and enquire after our affairs in Flanders, and after the marquis Spinola your countryman, to whom I understand you are going. I like well your weapon, which in truth is most handsome and soldier-like;" and so he dismissed him to proceed on his journey.

While Mr. Ferrar travelled thus alone over a great part of Spain, he walked once half a day without seeing any body, and was therefore obliged to guess at his way, by the best observation he could make to proceed straight forward from the place where he had lodged the night before. And it being now near evening, he perceived that the road he was in led him to a very high hill, which at length he with no small pains and difficulty ascended: and being arrived at the top, he there found a round plat of level ground, of considerable magnitude, encompassed entirely with rocks of a prodigious height, and extremely steep on every side, neither could he discern any pathway, except that by which he had ascended, to lead him out from this rocky enclosure, and thereby encourage him to go forward.

At the sight of this he was much troubled, thinking he had wholly mistaken the hill which he had been directed to ascend, and that he must at last take up his unhoused lodging there that night.

Being

Being thus perplexed, and not knowing what to do, he devoutly knelt down, and prayed to God to protect and direct him. Then examining with careful anxiety all parts, to see if he could find any way to help him forward in his journey, for it was too late to think of returning, he espied a large black hog come hastily running out from a narrow crevice or cleft in the rock, and immediately disappear again. But he with his eyes observed, and with his feet made all possible haste to follow and see what was become of the beast. For he conceived hopes that it might be some tame animal, now in the evening returning to its home, and consequently that possibly there was some dwelling house not far off. Presently he saw the same creature again, now running at the further end of the level plain down the side of the hill. And, coming to the spot, he perceived a hollow, covered passage, cut into the solid rock, and at some distance within this hollow, a sort of window or air-hole, to give light and air to this subterranean passage. Resolving therefore to follow the animal which he plainly saw to enter this cavity, after some time, and very cautious treading, he found a turning which grew at every step more and more dark. Yet stopping a little while, listening, and still looking and venturing slowly more forward, he discerned, as he thought, a glimmering of more light at a distance. So he went on, and found it to be another window or air-hole, cut like the former through the solid rock to give farther light to the subterranean passage. Thus proceeding onwards, in the same manner, and under the same disagreeable circumstances, he at length plainly perceived that this passage was a way to some subterranean habitation, cut by human labour into the heart of the rock. Thereupon listening, and proceeding with

with caution, he fancied that he heard the voices of people talking at no great distance. Resolving therefore to go forward again, he found at length that there was indeed a sort of house in the very substance of the rock, and that it was a harbour, or place of entertainment for passengers who travelled that way.

Coming into the room he saluted the host, and the people who were there; and sitting down he called for bread and wine, and then began to discourse with them how hard it was to find the way to them; which, they said, to a stranger, must be indeed extremely difficult, but was not so to those who were acquainted with the turns and windings of that subterranean labyrinth. He then called for more wine to wash and bathe his feet. Which done, after some communication of ordinary matters, such as travellers use with their hosts, he made strict observation of the disposition and manners of the people in the house, and found great reason not very well to like them; but now there was no remedy.

As for the people, they thought him to be a young Italian soldier, going to the marquis Spinola. For that way his conversation much tended, and shewed that he was well acquainted with all the military transactions in Flanders with the Hollanders. At length he told them that he was very weary and very sleepy, and, if they pleased, would lie down upon a bench, and take some rest. For that, he pretended, was his custom when he travelled, in order to inure himself to hardships.

Thereupon they shewed him into another room within the cavern; and Mr. Ferrar, not laying his rapier away, but keeping it close to him, lay down to sleep. But he was scarce laid down, when two lusty, ruffian-looking fellows and a young woman

 came

came into the room. Mr. Ferrar heard and saw them, but lay still, as if he was fast asleep. The men then demanded of the people of the house, "Who is this here, who lies sleeping upon the bench?" they answered, "We know not; he is lately come in very weary, and says he is a young Italian soldier, who is going into Flanders, to serve under Spinola." And then they entered into some conversation in a very low voice, which Mr. Ferrar could not hear.

After this they sat down at a table at the farther end of the room, and in a bold manner began to call for various things, and in drinking their wine they discoursed of different matters, and at length grew very merry. But at last one of the fellows went out, and after a short time came in again, and then after some slight and foolish words began to quarrel with the woman. She gave him as cross words in return, and their other companion taking her part, from words they came to blows, and began to lay hands on the woman. Whereupon she crying out, the host came running in, but instead of being appeased by him, they grew more and more fierce. All this Mr. Ferrar heard and saw, but appeared as if he was in a sound sleep, and kept his hand fast upon his rapier. They called to him for help, but he regarded not their brawling, still making as if he was dead asleep. Therefore as he continued to lie still, and seemed to take no notice of them, their contention ceased, and they all went out of the room in very friendly terms together.

Mr. Ferrar saw all this was done to provoke him to rise, and take one part or other, that so they might have quarrelled with him, and carried into execution some bad design against him. But he heard no more of them; and not being able to sleep,

sleep, he rose at day-break, and made haste away, giving God thanks for his escape out of their hands.

After his escape from this subterranean abode, having travelled five hundred miles in Spain, in the heat of summer, alone, and on foot, making his observations on the country, its curiosities, and productions, and on the dispositions and manners of the people, he at length arrived safely at St. Sebastians. Here he found a ship ready to sail for England, but waiting for a fair wind. In this interval he received great civilities from the captain of the vessel, and from all the English settled at that place. At length the wind came fair, and after a few days happy passage he landed at Dover, where he returned his sincere thanks to God for bringing him in health and safety to his native country.

We are now no longer to consider Mr. Ferrar as a young gentleman travelling for amusement and instruction, displaying every where uncommon abilities, illustrious virtue, and indefatigable industry, exciting the highest admiration, and receiving in every country universal applause; but we shall now see him the man of business, applying with unwearied attention the great talents with which God had blessed him, to important negociations both of a private and a public nature.

His return was at a very critical time. For one branch of his family was in great distress, and stood in need of his care and wisdom. His brother John Ferrar was likewise entered into a great public employment, by which he became engaged in many affairs which required his assistance. For sir Edwyn Sandys being chosen governor of the

Virginia company, Mr. John Ferrar was made king's counsel for that plantation. He therefore left the management of his concerns in merchandise to his friends and partners. And the Virginia courts after this were kept at the house of Mr. Ferrar the father; who from his singular affection for that honourable company, himself being one of the first adventurers of that plantation, and the Somers Islands, allowed them the use of his great hall, and other best rooms of his house to hold their weekly and daily meetings. Many other things both of public and private concernment, now on foot, seemed equally to call for the presence and assistance of Mr. N. Ferrar. For (not to speak of public matters) to all human appearance, without his advice, diligence, and great wisdom in managing the private affairs of his family at this critical juncture, there had been great danger not only of much loss in many particulars, but even of the overthrow and ruin of his elder brother.

Immediately after his arrival at Dover Mr. Ferrar rode post to London; and finding the door of his father's house open, he entered with his rich rapier at his side, arrayed only in his cassock and doublet, and just in the manner as he had travelled from Madrid to St. Sebastians.

The meeting between the worthy parents and their beloved son, whom they had not seen for five years, and whom they had expected never to have seen again, was mutually affectionate and endearing in the highest degree, and may more easily be imagined than described. This his unexpected and much wished for return was in the year 1618; he himself being then twenty-six, his father seventy-two, and his mother sixty-two years of age.

He

He soon shewed himself upon the Exchange, and in person returned his thanks to those merchants by whose factors he had received his remittances, and many local civilities. He was now much noticed both for the beauty of his person, and for his many eminent qualities: and all his friends soon found that the accounts they had received of his worth and wisdom from abroad had not been exaggerated, but that his virtues and his accomplishments surpassed all report and all expectation.

In his travels through Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain, Mr. Ferrar purchased many rare articles of curiosity, many scarce and valuable books, and learned treatises in the languages of those different countries. In collecting which he certainly had a principal eye to those which treated the subjects of a spiritual life, devotion, and religious retirement. He bought also a very great number of prints engraved by the best masters of that time; all relative to historical passages of the old and new Testament. Indeed he let nothing of this sort that was valuable escape him. And this great treasure of rarities, books, and prints, upon his return home, he had the satisfaction to find were safely arrived there before him.

Very little indeed of this treasure is now remaining. The Ferrar family being firm in their loyalty to the king, their house at Gidding was plundered in the civil wars; and in a wanton devastation, all these things perished, except some of the prints, not of great value, still in possession of the editor.

It now comes in the order of time to speak of the great hand which Mr. N. Ferrar had, immediately after his return, in the management of the

affairs

affairs of the Virginia company; in which, by his prudent conduct, he got through many and great difficulties with high credit and reputation. From this relation it will appear what great power Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador then had in England; and how by his extraordinary craft and various intrigues he in the end wrought upon a weak prince to suppress one of the most flourishing companies for commerce in England. And it may possibly give the reader some satisfaction to see some of his subtle proceedings here unravelled; as this affair is hardly touched upon by any other author [7].

Soon after Mr. Ferrar's return, sir Edwyn Sandys, who had heard a high character of him from many who had known him in Italy, sought his acquaintance; and being exceedingly taken with his great abilities, took the first opportunity to make him known to the earl of Southampton, and the other principal members of the Virginia company. In a very little time he was made one of a particular committee in some business of great importance; whereby the company having sufficient proof of his extraordinary abilities, at the next general court it was proposed and agreed that he should be king's counsel for the Virginia plantation in the place of his brother John, who was then made the deputy governor. And when his name, according to custom, was entered in the lord chamberlain's book, sir Edwyn Sandys took care to acquaint that lord with his uncommon worth; which indeed daily more and more appeared in every thing he undertook: and as he wanted no ability, so he spared no diligence in ordering all their affairs of consequence.

[7] *By any other author.*] [This was said about the year 1654.]

And

And thus he became deeply engaged in cares of a public nature. Yet his own inclinations at his return led him rather to think of settling himself again at Cambridge, to which he was the more induced, as he still held the physic fellowship in Clare Hall. But this he now saw could not be done. Besides, his parents, now grown old, requested their beloved son to remain with them. Therefore all he could obtain in this respect from them, and from his business, was the liberty now and then to pass a few days with his old acquaintance and friends still remaining in Cambridge.

At this time, 1619, Mr. Henry Briggs, the celebrated mathematician, and reader of geometry at Gresham College, and one of the Virginia company, being about to leave London, and settle at Oxford as Savilian professor there, recommended it to the Mercers' company, who had the gift of that professorship, that they should by all means offer the place to Mr. Ferrar upon his own terms, saying, that he was the ablest proficient he knew in that science. The offer was made accordingly, which he modestly declined, saying his friend Mr. Briggs was much mistaken in him, and that his affection and goodness to him had misled his judgment. He therefore prayed them to appoint some more worthy person; but that for himself, though he declined the intended honour, he would always be ready to serve the city of London, and the magnificent foundation of sir Thomas Gresham, to the utmost of his power.

While sir Edwyn Sandys continued governor, the reputation of the Virginia company rose very high under his prudent management. But having now served his year, and being by the general voice intended to have been elected again, by some secret power

power at court, all the measures were broken that had been before taken for that purpose.

It was appointed by the charter of the company that there should be every year in Easter term a new election of a treasurer or governor, and a deputy, and that no man should hold either of those places more than three years. This election was now intended to be made by ballot, a method introduced by sir Edwyn Sandys, as most likely to secure a free election. A general court day being appointed, and the day and hour of election being come, there were assembled near upon twenty great peers of the land; near a hundred of the most eminent knights of the kingdom of gallant gentlemen many colonels and captains, and renowned lawyers near a hundred more, and of the most worthy citizens a very respectable assembly. So that the court consisted of near five hundred persons of several ranks, and quality. Every thing being prepared, the three persons who were to be candidates for the place of governor were now to be named by the company. The three persons being agreed upon, the name of sir Edwyn Sandys was first set up, and as this was doing, a lord of the bed-chamber and another courtier stood up, and declared to the court that it was the king's pleasure not to have sir Edwyn Sandys chosen; and *because he would not infringe their right of election*, he would nominate three persons, and permit the company to choose one of them.

At this unexpected message there was for a considerable time a deep silence, every man present standing in amazement at this violent invasion of their rights, this breach of their charter, and stretch of tyrannic power. At length some at the lower end of the hall stood up, and prayed that the courtiers having

having delivered their message, and consequently having nothing more to say, might withdraw, till the company had resolved what to do.

The earl of Southampton (Henry Wriothsley) then stood up and said, "For my part, gentlemen, I like not this motion: let the noble gentlemen if they please keep their places, and sit and hear the opinions of the company, that so they may be both ear and eye witnesses of our actions, and words, and may themselves by these means truly inform his majesty of our fair and justifiable way of proceeding in this weighty business: a business of the highest concernment both in respect of his majesty, and in respect of the company. In respect of his majesty, whom we know to be so just a king, that he may understand what privileges he hath granted us by his letters patent, under the great seal of England: on the credit and authority of which letters, we have advanced and adventured one hundred thousand pounds of our own estates: and in respect of the company, who have gained so hopeful a country, which they have bought, and compounded for with the natives, and which when once well peopled by English colonies, will find full employment for all needy people in this land, who now begin to swarm in this blessed time of peace under his majesty's happy reign; will provide estates likewise for all the younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom; and also a ready and lasting supply to this nation of those commodities which in our present condition we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea from heathen princes. These circumstances, I say, fairly considered, make this a business of so great concernment, that it can never be too solemnly, too thoroughly, or too publicly examined."

Lord

Lord Southampton having thus spoken sat down, and after some silence sir Laurence Hyde, the learned lawyer, next rose up and said, "May it please this honourable society, I for my part not only agree to that motion now made by the noble earl who spoke last, but also desire the company not only to permit, but even to intreat these worthy messengers of the king to stay in our court, and I will be thus farther bold to break the ice, and to give you my opinion that the first step we ought to take in this serious business now in hand should be to cause the patent, as the foundation of all our proceedings, to be here immediately produced, and read, before this honourable assembly, and these worthy gentlemen the king's messengers. And then both we and they shall all soon be satisfied in the extent of our privileges, and in the strength of his majesty's grant, which he hath made to us under the great seal of England, and under the hand and honour of a king."

Thereupon, all instantly cried out, "The patent! The patent! God save the king." The patent was then openly and distinctly read by the secretary.

After which sir Laurence Hyde stood up again and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you all to observe well the words of the patent in the point of electing a governor. You see it is thereby left to your own free choice. This I take it is so very plain and evident, that we shall not need to say any thing more to it. And no doubt these gentlemen, when we shall have done our duty, and they depart, will give his majesty a just information of the case, and undeceive him in the unjust misrepresentations which have been given him in this point."

The

The rest of the many lawyers who were there concurred in opinion with sir Laurence Hyde, and the court voted that they should now immediately proceed to election. When a friend of sir Edwyn Sandys, sir Robert Phillips, who sat behind him, and to whom sir Edwyn had whispered, stood up and craved of them before they proceeded, to hear him a word, or two, and then said,

"I shall consent that we go to an election out of hand, because it is the business of the day, and if we do it not now, we may thereby in my opinion forfeit our patent; and also that we may by so doing, shew our duty to the king, in order to satisfy him in all that we may: which, as I am instructed by this worthy gentleman your late governor, may be done, if you will out of your own judgments, at present forbear to set up his name (whom I perceive you all think and know most worthy to be continued in that office) and put up two or three names of the persons recommended by his majesty. And let these managers themselves, if they think fit, nominate which two they please. And in order in some degree to preserve your own privileges, do you then name a third person. And then let all these three names be set upon the balloting box, and so go to the election in God's name, and let his will be done."

Thereupon with a general acclamation, not one voice against it, the whole court cried out "Southampton! Southampton!" At which my lord of Southampton rose up to speak. But they again cried out, "The time is almost past, we most humbly beseech your lordship not to interrupt our proceedings."

The king's messengers then said, they must confess that the company proceeded wisely; and that if they had the nomination of two out of three, as

sir

sir Robert Phillips proposed, they doubted not but his majesty would be satisfied. For as sir Edwin Sandys had wisely waved his interest, if the king desired no more than that he might not be chosen, the course proposed to be taken was likely to please him. And so they proceeded to the ballot; when of the two persons nominated by the king's messengers, one of them had only one ball, and the other but two. The earl of Southampton had all the rest. Lord Southampton then took the chair, and they proceeded to the choice of a deputy, when Mr. John Ferrar was chosen by the same majority; of that large company, consisting of near five hundred persons, only three dissenting. And thus began the year 1620.

The earl of Southampton, now elected governor of the Virginia company, had a particular friendship with sir Edwyn Sandys, and took this office conditionally that his friend should continue his advice and assistance in the business of the company. So that there were now three very able men engaged, lord Southampton, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. Lord Southampton celebrated for wisdom, eloquence, and sweet deportment; sir Edwin Sandys for great knowledge, and integrity, and Nicholas Ferrar for wonderful abilities, unwearied diligence, and the strictest virtue.

The latter was now fully employed in drawing up instructions concerning all the various business respecting the plantation, in writing all letters of advice to the colony in Virginia, and in being constantly one in every committee. Which instructions and letters being always read in the open courts, gained him universal approbation. The civilians, the common lawyers, the divines, (of which last dean Williams afterwards bishop of Lincoln was one) who attended these courts, when acquainted

acquainted with Mr. Ferrar's performances, all spoke of him in highest terms of commendation. The merchants and tradesmen, when he had occasion to speak of their matters, even the sea officers, and mariners, when he gave directions about the victualling and ordering the ships or other naval affairs, all were in the highest admiration of his abilities and accurate knowledge of every thing relating to their respective professions. And now under the management and direction of lord Southampton, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the affairs of the Virginia plantation were soon in the most flourishing situation.

At this time there was in London a Mr. Copeland, a minister in the Somers islands, who contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Ferrar. He was a worthy man, and very zealous for the conversion of the infidel natives of America. He had many conferences with Mr. Ferrar upon this subject, and the best way and means to effect it; and he seriously informed sir E. Sandys and others of the company, that he verily believed Mr. Ferrar was determined some time to leave the old world, and settle in Virginia; and there employ the extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, and spend his life in the conversion of the natives, or other infidels in that country: adding, "If he should do so, I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work." This I think is a strong presumptive proof, that notwithstanding Mr. Ferrar's great abilities in different occupations and his wonderful proficiency in various acquisitions of science, and other accomplishments, yet that the peculiar bent, and determination of his mind was uniformly given to the promotion of the christian religion.

At

At this time (April, 1620) died Mr. Ferrar the father, who made his son Nicholas his sole executor; which was a great addition to the business already lying upon him: but he had abilities equal to any thing, and to every thing, with firmness of mind and integrity equal to his ability. Mr. Ferrar sen. by his will gave 300l. towards erecting a school or college in Virginia for the better education of such infidel children as should be there converted to the christian religion. He was buried in the church of St. Bennet Sherhog, April 12, and his old friend Dr. Francis White, whom he brought from the obscurity of the country into a more public life, preached his funeral sermon to a crouded audience; in which he described him as a second Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed in whom was no guile.

The Virginia plantation, now under the government of the earl of Southampton, became every day of higher reputation, and the affairs of the company in consequence every day of more weighty importance. So that Mr. Ferrar, both as counsel to the company, and assistant also to his brother as deputy governor, was pressed by a double weight of care: as the company would not permit the deputy to resign till he had executed his office three years; which he did 1619, under sir Edwyn Sandys, and 1620, 1621, under the earl of Southampton.

But now the increasing fame of this company, and the wise management of it was carried into Spain, and caused no small alarm. The politicians there saw, or pretended to see danger in the course of not many years. Virginia was too near them, both by sea and land: and they did not know but the people of that plantation, when once a little settled, might perhaps be looking over the hills,

and

and at length spy out their rich mines. Gondomar therefore had it in commission to have a special eye upon the company, and the managers of their affairs. And he was indeed a vigilant observer of his instructions. He not only gained an absolute influence over the king, but many great men about him, whom he had bought with Spanish money: these were very powerful, and well known at court by the name of the Spanish party.

Gondomar and the king had now agreed upon the destruction of the Virginia company. Notice of their dishonourable designs was given to lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys, by the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke; who privately warned them to look well to themselves, and their proceedings, for that many stratagems were now in train, and would be pushed to the utmost to procure the destruction of the plantation, and to ruin all persons who should be employed in supporting the affairs of the company.

This opportune advice produced a double care and watchfulness in the managers, if possible, to prevent the intended mischief. But it would be endless here to relate the many discouragements, the dark intrigues, and shameful practices which they now daily met and encountered. These things require another time and place. All that need here be said is that the Virginia business was now no pastime, nor were the managers in any respect permitted to be idle.

In the Easter term, 1622, Mr. John Ferrar having been continued deputy governor three years, Nicholas Ferrar was elected to succeed him. For lord Southampton plainly told the deputation from the company, who waited on him to desire he would consent to be re-elected, that if they did not choose Mr. Nicholas Ferrar to be the deputy governor

vernor, he could not any longer take the office of governor upon him; saying that he was the only person who was able to go through with the business; and to encounter all those great and potent oppositions, which he knew either were, or very soon would be raised against the company and the plantation: and that without Mr. Ferrar's assistance all would fall to ruin. "You all," he continued, "see, and know his abilities and his integrity as well as I. On condition of his being deputy, I will be your governor: but he must be the person who must act both mine and his own part also. Without him I dare not accept the office: with him, I will do all I can to serve you."

These things being thus settled, the meetings at Mr. Ferrar's house began again to be crouded, as usual; and Gondomar exerted double diligence, procuring, by Spanish gold, spies, who informed him of every thing that was done at these meetings; and, what added greatly to his influence, the Spanish party at court carried every thing with a high hand.

Many shameful stratagems were now attempted against the company, to throw their affairs into confusion, and to dishearten them on all sides. Particularly their privilege in point of customs (which was to pay only 5 per cent.) was now questioned, and 15 per cent. demanded. One Jacobs also, who had procured a licence for importing Spanish tobacco, was now employed and supported by the great men in the pay of Gondomar to infringe the company's patent: which encreased Mr. Ferrar's trouble to a great degree, and made it necessary for him to resort frequently to the council table, and to sir Tho. Coventry the king's attorney general.

The hardship and the injustice put upon the company in this last article only was very great, as the profit

profit arising from Virginia tobacco, was as yet the only return which the planters had to answer all their trouble, expence and hazard. For little progress had been made in the several plans of improvement, as the consequences of the first massacre[8] by the savages, were not yet fully recovered.

By Mr. Ferrar's care and industry things seemed, notwithstanding this violence and injustice, to be getting again in a fair way towards a lasting settlement. But alas! the Spanish match for the prince was now set on foot, and Gondomar took advantage of that opportunity to exert his absolute power over the king; who meanly suffered himself, in violation of his patent, and the honour of a king, to be made this crafty minister's instrument to effect the ruin of the company.

The marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke solemnly affirmed to the earl of Southamptom, that they heard Gondomar say to the king, "That it was time for him to look to the Virginia courts which were kept at the Ferrars' house, where too many of his nobility and gentry resorted to accompany the popular lord Southampton, and the dangerous Sandys. That though they might have a fair pretence for their meetings, yet he would find in the end that court would prove a seminary for a seditious parliament. That they were deep

[8] *The first massacre.*] [That massacre was perpetrated on Friday, March 22, 1621, at which time the savages killed 347 persons. There were then murdered at Mr. William Ferrar's house these ten persons, Mr. John England, and John his servant: John Bell, Henry Paterson, and Alice his wife, and William her son; Thomas their servant, James Woodshaw, and Mary and Elizabeth, maid-servants.

Declaration of the State of Virginia. London, 1622, 4°. p. 14, 37.]

 politicians,

politicians, and had farther designs than a tobacco plantation. That their proceedings in the issue might cause, if not timely prevented, occasions of difference between his majesty, and his master the king of Spain. For he had heard rumours, that once being become numerous, they intended to step beyond their limits; and for aught he knew, they might visit his master's mines. Adding, that he had occasion of late to have a conference with the managers concerning a ship laden with silver, which was cast away; and that he found them subtle men, men of high courage, men who no way regarded either his master or their own." These lords therefore advised Lord Southampton to be upon his guard; and bade him and his deputy prepare for the rencounter; for that it would certainly come to the push of pike; and that they feared, as matters now stood, the company would be dissolved, and under some pretence or other their patent taken away. The creatures of Gondomar also insinuated to the king, that the matter was too high and great for private men to manage: that it was therefore proper for the king to take it into his own hand, and to govern and order it both at home and abroad according to his own will and pleasure.

After a short time a commission was granted by the king to some known enemies to the company to disturb and teaze them by vexatious examinations. And one captain Butler, whom the company had removed from his office for scandalous mismanagement and injustice, was suborned, and made an instrument to spread disadvantageous reports of the country itself, as being unfit to be planted, as being extremely unhealthy, and entirely unproductive.

Before

Before these commissioners Mr. Ferrar often appeared in defence of the company, and exerted himself with such firmness and force of argument, not only face to face to the accusers, but by such unanswerable deductions in writing, that the commissioners were not able to proceed: all their allegations being demonstrated by him to be false and frivolous. The matter therefore was brought from them before the council table. And then Mr. Ferrar, and the company were forced to attend there twice or thrice a week for half a year together, in order to weary them out by a vexatious persecution. But notwithstanding all these infamous machinations, nothing could be taken hold of to wrest the patent from the company. They were often indeed required to lay it down; but this they refused to do.

At this time, though there were many able men of the company ready to defend their just cause, yet the lords of the council insisted that the deputy, being, as they said, the representative of the company, should be the only person to answer their objections. And this they did on seeing him so young a man, thinking from that circumstance to gain some advantage over him. But he answered them all with that singular wisdom and modesty, that accurate knowledge of affairs, that discretion, firmness and eloquence, that the mercenaries of Gondomar were confounded; and then by a new and unexpected artifice, and in pretended admiration of his great abilities, said it was pity but that he should be taken off from his present business, and employed in public affairs of more weighty importance.

Accordingly overtures were made, and a negociation entered upon with lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys, to prevail with them to persuade

Mr. Ferrar to accept the place of clerk of the council, or (leiger) envoy to the duke of Savoy, which of the two employments he himself liked best. He modestly declined the offer, saying his abilities were not sufficient for a post of such weighty importance. His friends continued to press him, and he to refuse. At length he told them that he could not accept of such perferment; that his thoughts lay quite another way. But seeing their importunity continue, he in confidence to his two great friends, and on their promise of secrecy, declared to them his solemn determination, when he should have discharged the duties of his present situation, to enter upon a state of religious retirement.

The council finding that the company were still resolved not to part with their patent, or with the liberty which they thereby had to govern their own affairs, now took a more severe, and not less unjust course. They confined lord Southampton to his house, that he might not come to the Virginia courts, of which he was the legal governor. But this only made the company more resolute in their own just defence. They then ordered sir Edwin Sandys into a similar confinement. But this step in no degree abated the resolution of the company. Then the lords, under the influence of Gondomar, strongly pressed the company to give up their patent. The marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke informed lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys of these proceedings, saying, That Nicholas Ferrar, though now left as it were alone, was too hard for all his opposers. "But," continued they, "your enemies will prevail at last; for let the company do what they can, in open defiance of honour, and justice, it is *absolutely determined* at all events to take away your patent." But

But Gondomar and his instruments, finding that their violent measures had not the desired effect upon the company, now vehemently urged the king to take the plantation into his own hands, as a thing befitting a king: and particularly as being a measure that would be most acceptable to the king of Spain.

Still however the same unjust persecution of the company was carried on; and Mr. Ferrar still remained unanswerable in his defence. When one day the lord treasurer Cranfield in great heat of passion told him, "that he could prevail with the company if he would, and they might then obtain all that they desired."

Nicholas Ferrar then being called to the upper end of the council table, addressed himself with all humility to the lords, and to lord Cranfield in particular, "beseeching them in the most earnest manner not to entertain so vain an imagination. That there were many members of the company much better qualified than he was to speak upon their affairs. Nevertheless, that he humbly entreated their lordships to consider seriously, whether, if such a number of the Virginia company as made a court, or whether, if all those members who lived in or near London should meet and assemble together, whether even all these could either in law or equity give up the patent, without the previous consent of all the rest of the members, to the number of some thousands now dispersed all over England. And these too not persons of inferior rank, but persons of the first condition, of the nobility, and gentry, of the bishops, and clergy, of the chief citizens, and of the principal companies, and corporations throughout the whole kingdom. Besides these, all the planters also in Virginia, who were all included in the grant, and who all

all upon the encouragement, and promised protection of the king, under the great seal of England, and the pledge of his royal word and honour, adventured their estates, and many of them even their lives in this the greatest and most honourable undertaking in which England had ever been engaged. He represented also the great good which in numberless sources of wealth and strength, would by means of this corporation, and through the encouragement of their care, by the blessing of God, shortly accrue to this nation. And he again and again most earnestly besought their lordships to take all these things into their most serious consideration; and no longer to urge them, not the twentieth part of the persons interested, to do an action which was in itself both unjust and unreasonable, and indeed impossible for them to do. For how could they pretend to give away and yield up the rights, and interests of other men, without the consent of the parties interested first obtained. And in the most solemn manner he adjured their lordships not to make them the instruments of doing so vile a thing, to which, if they consented, they should render themselves worthy of the severest punishment. Besides, he said, it is worthy your lordships farther consideration, how far such a precedent may possibly operate, and how dangerous such an example may be, if only a twentieth part of any company should presume, or should be permitted to deliver up the liberties and privileges, the rights, and the property of the other nineteen parts, and that without so much as once calling them together to give their consent. This, he continued, was what the company now assembled, must refuse as a thing unjust, and not feasible for them to do."

The lord treasurer upon his discoursing thus, being inflamed with violent passion, often interrupted

rupted him, and so did some others. But the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Pembroke, and some other lords of the council said, "Nay, my good lords, forbear. Let him make an end. We have called him hither to know what he can say on the company's behalf. Let us therefore not interrupt him: it is but reasonable to hear him out. Mr. Deputy go on."

Mr. Ferrar, with the most respectful humility then said, "Most honourable lords, I was just on the point of concluding. I will add only this, that as for my own private interest, and the interest of many here present, and of many others who are absent, my lords, we all most humbly cast ourselves, and our estates at his majesty's royal feet: let him do with us and with them, if so he be determined, what seemeth best unto his good will and pleasure. For as to what is really our own, and in us to give, we submit it all to his majesty's disposal; and in all other things we shall endeavour to serve and please him in all that with a conscience unhurt we may: desiring only this, that with respect to the rights and property of others, we may be permitted to execute the trust reposed in us, with fidelity and honour, and to discharge religiously those duties, which, as they are of the first importance, ought to have the first influence upon the mind of man."

Then the marquis of Hamilton stood up, and with a loud voice said, "Mr. Deputy, in my opinion, my lords, hath spoken well, excellently well both for himself, and for the company. And what my lords, can we now desire more of him?" The earl of Pembroke seconded lord Hamilton, and said, "Surely, my lords, I hope the king, (if he shall hear all) will be satisfied with what we have done, but particularly with what we have now heard.

heard. Let us fairly report it to him, and then let his majesty do what he thinks most proper. We have sat a long time upon this business, and at length we may conjecture the result."

Gondomar with his profligate instruments, the king, and the Spanish party at court, perceiving that Mr. Ferrar, (having demonstrated all their allegations to be false and groundless) had rendered all their violence ineffectual, now had recourse to a different mode of proceeding. They suborned, and procured persons to bring forward a crimination against him, who came and exhibited in form a complaint to the council board. The substance of the accusation was this, That the deputy, during the times of his appearing before the council, had drawn up and sent to the governor and plantation of Virginia certain dangerous instructions, and inflammatory letters of advice, directing them how they should conduct themselves in standing to their patent, and exhorting them that they should never give their consent to let it be delivered up. And therefore that if these letters and instructions were not countermanded by their lordships, some very ill consequence might ensue, and the king might thereby receive much dishonour.

As soon as this pretended complaint was lodged in form, instantly, though it was then very late at night, some pursevants, who were kept in readiness for that purpose, were dispatched in all haste to Mrs. Ferrar's house to speak with the deputy, and to command him without any delay immediately to deliver up to them, all those books of the Virginia company wherein were registered the copies of all such letters and instructions as had been sent to the plantation from the council or company here.

Mr. Ferrar told them that the secretary of the Virginia

Virginia company, and not he, had the keeping of those books. They then required him to give them a note to the secretary to deliver them. But he excused himself, saying, "Surely your commission will be a better authority for him to do so, than any note which I can send him. For my own part, if I had the company's evidences in my possession, entrusted to my custody, I certainly would not deliver them up, unless I had their leave, and express order so to do." When he said this they left him, and went to the secretary, and forced him to deliver up the books to them.

The next day the deputy, and many lords and gentlemen concerned in the company, were summoned to attend at the council table. For the accusers of the company had given it out publicly, that now very strange things indeed would be discovered in these books and instructions, and brought forth to public view. On this account there was a very numerous attendance, and all the lords of the council also were particularly summoned to attend.

When the council was met, the deputy (as heretofore) was commanded to come to the upper end of the table. Then the accusers of the company desired of the lords that one of the clerks of the council might read such and such letters and instructions written in such and such months. Some of which being read, the lords of the council looked upon one another with evident marks of astonishment; observing that there was nothing of that dangerous consequence in those papers, which the accusers had informed them they would discover; but on the contrary much matter of high commendation. "Point out," said one lord, "where is the fault or error in these letters and instructions;

structions; for my own part I must say that I cannot see any."

The enemies of the company then prayed their lordships to hear them all read out; and then they said it would soon appear where the faults lay. "Yea, yea," said the lord treasurer with vehemence, "read on, read on: we shall anon find them." So they still persisted to read. And in a word, so much patience had the lords, or rather so much pleasure, that many of them said they thought their time had been well spent. All these letters and instructions being in the end thus read out, and nothing at all appearing which was any ways disadvantageous to the company, but on the contrary very much to their credit and honour: the marquis of Hamilton stood up, and said, "That there was one letter which he prayed might be read over again, on which he should desire to make a few observations." Which being accordingly done, "Well!" said he, "my lords, we have spent many hours here, in hearing all these letters and instructions, and yet I could not help requesting to hear this one letter over again; because I think that all your lordships must agree with me that it is absolutely a master piece. And indeed they are all in high degree excellent. Truly, my lords, we have this day lost no time at all. For I do assure you that if our attendance here were for many days, I for my part would willingly sit them out to hear so pious, so wise, and indeed politic instructions as these are. They are papers as admirably well penned as any I ever heard. And, I believe, if the truth were known, your lordships are all of the same opinion."

The earl of Pembroke said, "There is not one thing in them all, which, as far as I can see, deserves in the least degree to be excepted against.

On the contrary they all deserve the highest commendation: containing advices far more excellent than I could have expected to have met with in the letters of a trading company. For they abound with soundness of good matter, and profitable instruction with respect both to religion and policy; and they possess uncommon elegance of language." Many other lords concurred in these commendations, and at length one, addressing himself to Mr. Ferrar, said, "Mr. Deputy, I pray you tell us who penned these letters and instructions, we have some reason to think it was yourself."

Mr. Ferrar, whose modesty and humility were not inferior to his other rare accomplisments, replied, "My lord, these are the letters and instructions of the company, and the council of the company. For in all weighty affairs they order several committees to make each a rough draught of what they judge proper to be done in these matters: which rough draughts are afterward all put together, and presented first to the council, and then to the company to receive all proper alteration, as they shall please. And thus every thing is drawn up and concluded upon the advice of many." After due commendation of his modesty as well as his ability, it was replied to him, "Mr. Deputy, that these papers before us are the production of one pen, is very plainly discernible: they are jewels that all come out of one rich cabinet, of which we have undoubted reason to believe that you are the true possessor."

The lords under the influence of Gondomar were now abashed and silent; only one of them said to the accusers of the company, "What strange and unaccountable measures are these that you have taken! to have called us together, and to make us sit and hear all these things, which are entirely opposite

opposite to your own informations, and which meet, as you find, with universal approbation." To which one man of a bold spirit replied, "We shall still in the end carry our point. These, my good lord, are not the letters and instructions which we meant. The company have others no doubt in private, which they secrete, and which if they could now be found, would quickly silence them. We have lately heard of things passing in their courts which would surprize you." On which one of the council rose and said, "My lords, such malevolence and injustice is unequalled: such proceedings are not to be endured. But unprincipled malice has a face too brazen to be ashamed of any thing." The lords then rose, and the adversaries of the company were much confounded, having now with all honest and impartial men entirely lost all credit.

The very night after this meeting, one of the clerks of the council came to lord Southampton and told him that his deputy had that day gained a most complete victory, and had extorted the highest commendations even from the lords of the adverse party: and it was supposed that proposals would be made to him to engage in the king's immediate service. "But for all that, my lord," said he, "depend upon it, such the times are, your patent is irretrievably gone."

Lord Southampton communicated this information to the lords and gentlemen interested in the company, saying, "You all well know that those things which our enemies thought would have been to their advantage and our damage, have hitherto all turned out to our credit and to our honour: nevertheless, all will not help us. It is determined that our patent shall be taken away, and the company dissolved. The king, I find, has resolved to have the management of the plantation in his own hands,

hands, to direct, and govern as he sees best. A thing indeed worthy a king's care: but, alas! alas! this is all but a colourable shew. For you will find in the end that this worthy company will be broken, and come to nothing. We must all arm ourselves with patience."

Mr. Ferrar had now gained the highest reputation with all ranks of men for the uncommon abilities which he displayed on every occasion, and the esteem for his great virtues was unbounded, but especially with those who were interested in the affairs of the Virginia company. At this time a citizen of the first class both for riches and reputation paid him a visit, and after the warmest expressions of the highest opinion of his extraordinary talents, and integrity, thus continued, "Mr. Ferrar, I have an only daughter, who, if paternal affection doth not too much influence my judgment, is both wise and comely: indeed it is confessed by all that she is very beautiful. I know her to have been virtuously educated, to be well accomplished, and to be of an amiable disposition. If you will be pleased to accept of her as your wife, I will immediately give you with her ten thousand pounds." Mr. Ferrar was much surprised, returned his sincere thanks, but said he was not worthy of so great a treasure. The citizen however persisted, said he was really in earnest to bring about the connection: that at present he only made his proposal with intent to give him an opportunity to consider of it. After a few days he came again, and asked Mr. Ferrar if he had advised with his friends concerning his proposal, saying, "They all know me well." Mr. Ferrar answered that he had not; "for you I perceive, sir, are greatly mistaken in me, first in having too high an opinion of my abilities, and next with respect to my estate, which you perhaps may conceive

conceive to be what it is not. I think myself infinitely obliged to you for your good will towards me, and for honouring me so far as to think, what I cannot think of myself, that I am any way worthy of so inestimable a treasure as your daughter." "Mr. Ferrar," he replied, "do not talk thus to me: for I know you perfectly well; and as for your estate, I give myself no manner of concern about it. What fortune you have I demand not to know. Let it be what it will; if you have nothing, I thank God that I have enough to make you and my daughter happy as to worldly matters. And as to my own part, I shall think myself the happiest man upon earth to have you my son-in-law, and my daughter must be equally happy to have so accomplished, and so virtuous a man for her husband."

By means of an intimate friend of the father, an interview was brought about at this friend's house between the young lady and Mr. Ferrar, where in a select company they passed several hours together. The father then took a convenient opportunity to ask his daughter what she thought of Mr. Ferrar, to which she answered, "Nothing but good." "Can you then like him for a husband?" to which with equal ingenuousness and modesty she replied, "Sir, I shall with pleasure do in this, as well as in all other things, as you will please to have me: my duty and my inclination will go together." Matters being so far advanced, the father said to Mr. Ferrar, "Now, sir, you have seen my daughter, I hope her person and deportment are such as to merit your approbation. As to your own estate, nothing is desired to be known. Be that as it may; I have enough; I like you, and my daughter submits herself to my choice. Now let me have your answer." Mr. Ferrar replied, "The young lady your daughter, sir, is in every respect not only

only unexceptionable, but highly to be admired: she is beautiful, and accomplished, and amiable to the greatest degree, and far superior to all that I can merit: indeed I do not, I cannot deserve this great happiness. I return you my sincerest thanks for your unequalled goodness to me; and in the confidence of friendship I will now acquaint you with the private and fixed determination of my mind. If God will give me grace to keep a resolution long since formed, I have determined to lead a single life; and after having discharged, to the best of my ability, my duty to the company, and to my family, as to worldly concerns, I seriously purpose to devote myself to God, and to go into a religious retirement." Thus ended this affair, and the father ever after preserved the most affectionate friendship for Mr. Ferrar.

After the unworthy part which the king, influenced by Gondomar, had taken in the persecution of the Virginia company, the deputy had now indeed a great encrease of trouble in managing their concerns. But in truth and justice to his friends it must be said, that lord Southampton, the earl of Dorset, the earl of Devon, lord Paget, sir Edwyn Sandys and many others, gave him all the assistance in their power. But all to no purpose. For the king, notwithstanding his royal word and honour pledged to the contrary, notwithstanding the grant under the great seal of England, notwithstanding all that should bind the conscience, and direct the conduct of an honest man, was now determined with all his force to make the last assault, and give the death blow to this, as yet, prosperous and thriving company.

At this juncture a full testimonial came from the colony, proving the healthiness of the climate, and the fruitfulness of the country, against the slanderous

derous informations of that captain Butler, who had been suborned by Gondomar and his agents to spread defamatory reports concerning a country of which he knew nothing, having only been there in his flight from justice, and having suddenly stolen away from thence to avoid being seized by authority for his scandalous proceedings.

This testimonial being exhibited at the council board, the lords in Gondomar's interest became enraged, and resolved upon the last violence. They therefore now drew up a great number of charges, utterly false, and slanderous, against both the company and the colony, under the invention and direction of Gondomar, and the lord treasurer Cranfield. These accusations were given to the latter, and he now undertook either by consent to get, or by force to wring the patent out of the hands of the company.

With this view on the Thursday before Easter, 1623, a council was called, and the deputy and others were sent for to attend. Who being come, the lord treasurer presented those papers of accusation to the lords, saying that they contained a charge which the deputy and company must answer by the next Monday. For that a longer time would not, and should not be allowed them. Mr. Ferrar taking up the bulky bundle, said he thought it impossible to assemble the company, and answer so many, and such strange articles in so short a time as two days; for Sunday was not a day for business, and therefore he humbly besought their lordships to allow him only a week, and he would desire no more. Upon this the lord treasurer cried out in great wrath, "Not an hour longer than till Monday afternoon, and therefore take up the papers and be gone."

These papers on examination were found to contain

tain a huge parcel of absolute falsehoods, which the enemies of the company had invented, and drawn out to such an unreasonable length, that by the shortness of the time allowed (which was preconcerted with the lord treasurer) it was thought impossible that the agents for the company should give in any answer: that then Gondomar and his party would be triumphant, and able to boast that the Virginia company either could not, or durst not answer their accusation.

Mr. Ferrar however dividing the charge into three parts, giving one to lord Cavendish, another to sir Edwyn Sandys, and taking the third to himself, and employing six clerks very ready with the pen, to copy fair, continuing at the work without interruption, night and day, allowing but two hours for sleep, and refreshment, did actually produce and lay before the council, a complete answer at the time appointed. The lords were assembled and making themselves merry with the expected embarrassment of the Virginia company. But in a very short time their merriment was converted into shame and confusion. A clerk was ordered to read the answer. The reading took up full six hours. When it was done, all was a considerable time deep silence and astonishment. The adversaries of the company were all perplexed, and confounded, and in shame retired home. They had however sufficient presence of mind to secrete and convey away the answer they had required. It never appeared more, and the company never heard what became of it.

The Spanish match being yet intended, and prosecuted, during this negociation the king was the absolute slave of Gondomar, to do without regard to honour or justice whatsoever he should advise to be done. In consequence of this infatuation, the

 deputy,

deputy, and thirty more of the directors, and principal persons of the Virginia company were now served with a writ of *Quo Warranto*, and commanded to shew by what authority they pretended to exercise a power over the plantation, and to send a governor thither: and by this process the company now were obliged to go to law to defend their right.

After many delays the cause came on to be pleaded. The great plea which the king's attorney general (Coventry) brought against them was, "That it was in general an unlimited, vast patent. In particular, the main inconvenience was, that by the words of the charter, the company had a power given them to carry away, and transport to Virginia, as many of the king's loving subjects as were desirous to go thither. And consequently, he said, by exercising this liberty, they may in the end carry away all the king's subjects into a foreign land; and so leave his majesty a kingdom here indeed, but no subjects in it. And if this should be the case, what will then become of him, or of us? This is certainly a strange clause, and the patent wherein it is contained, ought to be forfeited."

This weighty argument extorted a smile even from the judges, and the lawyers concerned to carry on the prosecution. Nevertheless, it was admitted: for the determination was made, previous to entering upon the merits of the cause, what the decree should be. The attorney general then proceeded, and said he had found a flaw in the company's answer, which if admitted, contained on the one hand too much, and on the other too little; and therefore, being such a nicety in law, he craved sentence upon it as insufficient.

Sentence was thereupon given, "That the patent, or charter of the company of English merchants

chants trading to Virginia, and pretending to exercise a power and authority over his majesty's good subjects there, should be thenceforth null, and void."

The king was at the bottom of this whole proceeding, which from beginning to end was a despotic violation of honour and of justice.

The great reputation of Mr. Ferrar being now spread over all parts of the country by the members of the late dissolved Virginia company, he was in 1624, elected a member of parliament. As this in a general consideration was highly proper on account of his extensive abilities, and known integrity; so was there a peculiar propriety in his election at this time; as there was an intention now to call to account before the house of parliament, those persons who had abused the king's ear, and had been guilty of those violent enormities in the false accusation of the managers of the Virginia company. For it was well known that Mr. Ferrar was not only more accurately acquainted with all the circumstances of that affair than any other person, but had also abilities and firmness sufficient to carry on the prosecution in a proper manner.

The prince being now returned from Spain in great discontent, the Spanish party at court began in some degree to lose their influence. The parliament met. Mr. Ferrar was appointed one of several committees, sir Edwyn Sandys, and many other members of the late Virginia company were also in this parliament. A charge was brought in against the lord treasurer, the earl of Middlesex, for taking bribes, and divers other exorbitancies committed in the execution of his office; and also for his conduct in the Virginia affair, and his vio-

lence in taking away the patent, and dissolving the company.

On this occasion the house appointed the lord William Cavendish, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar to draw up the charge against him and those others, who had been his instruments in that scandalous proceeding. The charge was soon drawn up, as Mr. Ferrar had all the necessary materials ready in his hands. The accusation was opened by him in a speech which lasted two hours, and which gained him universal admiration. For now he was fully and publicly seen in this exertion of his great abilities. The lord treasurer was deprived of his office, and punished by a large fine, and imprisonment.

The iniquity of the Virginia business being fully proved, and laid before the public, by Mr. Ferrar, and the other managers, the house resolved to take the whole affair into their serious consideration, and endeavour to restore the company. But before they could make any progress they received a message from the king, "That he both already had, and would also hereafter take the affair of the said late Virginia company into his *own* most serious consideration and care: and that by the next parliament they should all see he would make it one of his *master pieces*, as it well deserved to be." And thus was all farther proceeding in that matter dishonourably stayed. For, as the event shewed, all these were nothing but fair words without any other intention than to stop the business. No care was taken of the plantation, but all was left to go to ruin. The violence and injustice, and other miseries consequent upon this falshood, and repeated breach of honour in the king would supply a large story: but for divers reasons they are not proper to be here inserted.

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When Mr. Ferrar was first elected deputy governor of the company, and by his office became accurately acquainted with all their circumstances, he was soon convinced of the unbounded influence of Gondomar, of the king's astonishing infatuation, his total disregard of truth, and justice, his absurd vanity, with the obstinacy and tyranny of his disposition. Such a king as James, was the properest instrument that could be found for such a workman as Gondomar; and Mr. Ferrar plainly saw the malice of the one, and the folly of the other; and like a wise man provided all in his power against future contingencies. He saw that Gondomar by means of the king would probably ruin the company; and that if they should carry this point, they most likely would cause all the court books, registers, instructions, and all other writings of the company to be taken away from their officers: that if opportunity should afterward be offered, they might never be able to make use of them either for their own justification, or in refutation of the false accusations of their enemies. He did not therefore depend upon the present promising appearance of their affairs: he knew that malice was at work; and he had frequently seen a temporary calm precede the most destructive storm.

Being under apprehensions of this sort, about a year before the dissolution of the company, he procured an expert clerk fairly to copy out all the court books, and all other writings belonging to them, and caused them all to be carefully collated with the originals, and afterward attested upon oath by the examiners to be true copies. The transcribing of which cost him out of his own pocket above 50l. but this he thought one of the best services he could do the company.

When

When the lords of the council therefore (as before related) seized the originals, Mr. Ferrar had all these attested copies, as yet unknown to any of the company, safe in his possession. But now when the lord treasurer had procured sentence in form against the company, and all their muniments had been taken from them, Mr. Ferrar informed sir Edwyn Sandys, and some other of his most intimate friends, what a treasure he had yet remaining in his hands; and desired their opinion how he might best dispose of them. On hearing this they were equally surprised and overjoyed, and unanimously desired him to carry them to their late worthy governor the earl of Southampton. He did so, and farther told his lordship, that he now left them entirely to his lordship's care and disposal: that if hereafter there should be opportunity, he might make use of them in justification of his own, and the late company's most honourable and upright proceedings.

The earl of Southampton cordially embracing Mr. Ferrar, said to him, "You still more and more engage me to love and honour you. I accept of this your present as of a rich treasure. For these are evidences that concern my honour. I shall value them therefore even more than the evidences that concern my lands; inasmuch as my honour and reputation are to me of more estimation than wealth or life itself. They are also the testimonials of all our upright dealings in the business of the late company and the plantation. I cannot therefore express how highly I think myself obliged to you for this instance of your care and foresight."

Soon after this interview, lord Southampton was advised not to keep these books in his own house, lest search should be made there for them; but rather to place them in the hands, and entrust them

to

to the care of some particular friend. Which advice, as the times then stood, he thought proper to follow. He therefore delivered them into the custody of sir R. Killegrew, who kept them safely till he died. He left and recommended them to the care of sir Edward Sackville, late earl of Dorset, who died in May, 1652: and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping.

Mr. Ferrar having seen the dissolution of the Virginia company, and no hope left of its revival, took his leave of the Virginia affairs by now paying the 300l. left by his father for the purpose of erecting a college there, to the governor and company of the Somers Islands: binding them in articles to send for three Virginia children, and bring them up in those islands: and when of fit age to put them out to some proper business: or else educate them in learning, and then send them back to the place of their birth, to convert their countrymen: and that when the first three were thus disposed of, three other should from time to time be sent for in succession for the same benevolent purpose.

And thus ended Mr. Ferrar's public life, in which he displayed many proofs of great and extenfive abilities, and of uncommon virtue, particularly of indefatigable diligence, industry, and activity, by which he gained universal admiration, and performed many important services, both to the Virginia company, and all others with whom he was concerned.

The king having seized the patent and dissolved the Virginia company, and Mr. Ferrar having seen the atteſted copies of all the books and papers belonging to them delivered into safe cuſtody in the Dorset family, he was now disengaged from public cares, and determined to carry into execution the plan he had long set his heart upon, to bid farewel

to

to the busy world, and spend the remainder of his days in religious retirement, and a strict course of devotion.

Yet before he could complete his pious purpose it was necessary for him finally to settle some matters of great consequence, though of a private nature, which had been entrusted to his care. His established reputation for inflexible integrity had influenced several persons to prevail with him to undertake the executorship of their wills, and the settlement of their worldly affairs: and in some of these instances this trust concerned property of great value, and was involved in circumstances of great difficulty. Beside these occupations relative to the property of others, the situation of his brother required his immediate and close attention. Mr. John Ferrar had been for three years deputy governor of the Virginia company, and in order to give himself up wholly to the discharge of that important trust, he had put into the hands of his partners in mercantile business seven thousand pounds, and assigned the management of those affairs over to them. He also advanced six thousand pounds more to them, for which he was engaged by a personal security. Whether it were by mismanagement or misfortune does not at present appear, but about this time the concerns of this partnership were fallen into the greatest confusion, and involved in the utmost embarrassment. Mr. N. Ferrar nevertheless by his great sagacity and indefatigable industry, in a shorter time than could be believed, extricated his brother from all his difficulties, and settled his affairs in the most honourable manner at the loss of about three thousand pounds.

His next care was to provide a place fitted for the purpose, and corresponding with his ideas of religious

religious retirement. His mother had indeed a very large house in London, in which had been holden the meetings of the Virginia company: she had also a considerable estate, and a large house in the town of Hertford. But neither of these places had his approbation, both being too much in view of the public.

At length he was informed that the lordship of Little Gidding, in the county of Huntingdon, was to be sold. He immediately went thither to examine the place and premises, which he found, with respect to privacy of situation, exactly suited to his wishes. It was a parish that had been for some time depopulated. Nothing was left but one extremely large mansion-house, going hastily to decay, and a small church within thirty or forty paces of the house, and at that time converted into a barn. Upon his return to London he purchased the whole lordship, and this purchase was made in the year 1624.

But now the plague having been some time in London, was in the year 1625 spread over most parts of the town, and was discovered to be at the very next door to Mrs. Ferrar's house. Mr. N. Ferrar was therefore very urgent that she and the family would immediately depart into the country; but while she lingered, being unwilling to leave him behind, he procured a coach, and at length prevailed: and that very night, Whitsun-eve, she with her son John, and the rest of the family, went to her house at Hertford, and the following week to her daughter Collet's, at Bourne-bridge, in Cambridgeshire.

Mr. N. Ferrar would have attended his mother, but that he had not completely settled his brother's affairs. During this business, Mr. J. Ferrar, leaving his mother at Bourne, went to Gidding to make some

some necessary preparation there for the reception of the family, who were now become very unhappy at the stay of Mr. N. Ferrar in London, as they had been informed that the disorder was fatal every week to more than four thousand persons. As soon as he had finished the business which required his stay, he, with great joy and gratitude to God, repaired to Gidding; from whence he wrote to his mother, entreating her not to come to him in less than a month, that it might appear whether he had brought away any infection with him. But her impatience to see him was so great, that three days after she rode thither, and their meeting was such as might, at that time, be expected between a pious parent and a dutiful son, to the highest degree mutually affectionate. In its circumstances indeed very different from the modern meetings of parent and son: for he, though twenty-seven years of age, who had been engaged in many public concerns of great importance, had been a distinguished member of parliament, and had conducted with effect the prosecution of the prime minister of the day, at first approaching his mother, knelt upon the ground to ask and receive her blessing. He then besought her to go into the house, rude as it was, and repose herself. This she refused till she had given thanks to God in the church, which was very near at hand. But she was exceedingly grieved to find it filled with hay and instruments of husbandry. Immediately all the workmen, many in number, employed in the repair of the house, were set to cleanse and repair the church: for she said she would not suffer her eyes to sleep nor her eyelids to slumber till she had purified the temple of the Lord. In about a month's time, finding that all danger of infection was over, she sent for her beloved daughter Collet, and her husband, and

all

all their numerous family, to come and live with her at Gidding.

Mrs. Ferrar was now seventy-three years of age, yet was she possessed of so much vigour, and had so much of the appearance as well as the reality of health, that all who saw her concluded her to be not more than forty. Her family now consisted of near forty persons; and it being a season of deep humiliation on account of the mortality then become general all over the kingdom, it was determined to address themselves to God, as often as they conveniently could, according to the doctrine and discipline by law established in the church of England. To this end, Mr. N. Ferrar obtained permission of his old acquaintance bishop Williams, to have the service performed in the church, which was now put into decent repair; and he procured the minister of the adjoining parish to read the morning service every day at eight o'clock, the litany at ten, and the evening service at four. On the Sunday mornings the whole family went to Steeple Gidding, and in the afternoon the minister of that parish and his parishioners came to the church newly repaired by Mrs. Ferrar.

At Easter, 1626, the plague being then ceased, Mr. N. Ferrar and his mother, and some others of the family, went to London, to dispose of their great house there, to settle their remaining affairs, and to take a final leave of all their friends. When they had been some little time in London, he resolved, in order the better to carry on his religious plan by his own personal assistance, to become a deacon. This resolution he communicated to none but his honoured tutor, Dr. Lindsel, who highly applauded it, and introduced him to Dr. Laud, then bishop of St. David's, by whom he was ordained deacon on the Trinity Sunday following.

On his return home he addressed himself to his mother, and shewed her in a writing signed, a vow which he had made with great solemnity; That since God had so often heard his most humble petitions, and delivered him out of many dangers; and in many desperate calamities had extended his mercy to him; he would therefore now give himself up continually to serve God to the utmost of his power, in the office of a deacon: into which office he had that very morning been regularly ordained. That he had long ago seen enough of the manners and of the vanities of the world; and that he did hold them all in so low esteem, that he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, in devotion, and charity, and in a constant preparation for death.

There is reason to believe that even in his infancy, and before he set out upon his travels, and after his great escape upon the Alps, he did privately and solemnly devote himself to God; and that after his unexpected recovery from his dangerous illness both at Padua and Marseilles he repeated these pious resolutions, adding also a vow of perpetual celibacy. This, if true, may account for his extraordinary continence (though in the full prime and vigour of life) in refusing the offer of a young lady of incomparable beauty and rare accomplishments; of the most amiable disposition, and of an immense fortune; who had also ingenuously confessed that he had won her highest approbation and esteem. Instances of such firmness of mind and self-denial seldom occur.

The news of Mr. Ferrar being ordained was soon spread abroad both in the city and at court, as in both he was universally known and very highly esteemed. His constant friends the marquis of Hamilton, lord Pembroke, and sir Edwyn Sandys took

took this opportunity of saying to him, That though he had formerly refused all temporal emoluments, yet now he had taken orders they must suppose that he had not any objection to spiritual preferment, and immediately made him an offer of some ecclesiastical benefices of great value. These he refused with steadiness and humility, saying that he did not think himself worthy. He added also, that his fixed determination was to rise no higher in the church than the place and office which he now possessed, and which he had undertaken only with the view to be legally authorised to give spiritual assistance, according to his abilities, to his family or others, with whom he might be concerned. That as to temporal affairs, he had now parted with all his worldly estate, and divided it amongst his family. That he earnestly besought his honoured friends to accept his sincere thanks for their good opinion of him, for whose prosperity, both in this world and a better, he would never cease to pray. And now having finished all business in London, and taken a solemn and final leave of all their friends, he and his mother returned to Gidding.

It now comes in course to speak of the established œconomy both of the house and the church; and it is hoped that the reader will here excuse a circumstantial relation: because on these very circumstances, misapprehended, and misrepresented, were founded all the calumnies and persecution which the family afterward suffered.

Many workmen having been employed near two years, both the house and church were in tolerable repair, yet with respect to the church Mrs. Ferrar was not well satisfied. She therefore new floored and wainscotted it throughout. She provided also two new suits of furniture for the reading-desk, pulpit,

pulpit, and communion-table: one for the week days, and the other for Sundays and other festivals. The furniture for week days was of green cloth, with suitable cushions and carpets. That for festivals was of rich blue cloth, with cushions of the same, decorated with lace, and fringe of silver. The pulpit was fixed on the north, and the reading-desk over against it, on the south side of the church, and both on the same level[9]: it being thought improper that a higher place should be appointed for preaching than that which was allotted for prayer. A new font was also provided, the leg, laver, and cover all of brass, handsomely and expensively wrought and carved; with a large brass lectern, or pillar and eagle of brass for the Bible. The font was placed by the pulpit, and the lectern by the reading-desk.

The half-pace, or elevated floor, on which the communion-table stood at the end of the chancel, with the stalls on each side, was covered with blue taffety, and cushions of the finest tapestry and blue silk. The space behind the communion-table, under the east window, was elegantly wainscotted, and adorned with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed, engraved on four beautiful tablets of brass, gilt.

The communion-table itself was furnished with a silver patin, a silver chalice, and silver candlesticks, with large wax candles in them. Many other candles of the same sort were set up in every part of the church, and on all the pillars of the stalls. And these were not for the purposes of superstition, but for real use; which for great part of the year the fixed hours of prayer made necessary

9 *On the same level.*] See Walton's Life of Herbert, in this collection, Vol. IV. p. 510.

both

both for morning and evening service. Mrs. Ferrar also taking great delight in church music, built a gallery at the bottom of the church for the organ. Thus was the church decently furnished, and ever after kept elegantly neat and clean.

All matters preparatory to order and discipline being arranged and settled, about the year 1631, Dr. Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, came privately to Gidding, to pay a visit to his old friend Mr. N. Ferrar, with whom he had contracted a friendship at the Virginia board, and for whom he ever held the highest and most affectionate esteem.

By this visit he had an opportunity to view the church, and the house, and to examine into their way of serving God, which had been much spoken against; to know also the soundness of the doctrine they maintained: to read the rules which Mr. N. Ferrar had drawn up for watching, fasting, and praying, for singing psalms and hymns, for their exercises in readings, and repetitions; for their distribution of alms, their care of the sick, and wounded; and all other regularities of their institution. All which the bishop highly approved, and bade them in God's name to proceed.

In 1633 Mrs. Ferrar came to a resolution [1] to restore the glebe lands and tithes to the church, which

[1] *Came to a resolution.*] "Their heavenly-mindedness was best discovered to their Diocesan, when two sons of Mrs. Ferrar, the mother and matron of the houshold, treated with the bishop, to endow the Church with the tithes, which had been impropriated: this was in September 1633, as appears by a smack of that which fell from the pen of the donor, as followeth.

"Right reverend Father in God

"The expectation of opportunities having some years wheeled me off from the performance of this business, I now think it necessary to break through all impediments, and humbly to present

which some fourscore years before had been taken away, and in lieu thereof only 20l. a year paid to the

present to your lordship the desires and the intentions of my heart: beseeching you on God's behalf to take them into your fatherly consideration, and to give a speedy accomplishment to them, by the direction of your wisdom, and the assistance of your authority.

"The rest is too much to be rehearsed, save a little of her prayer to God in the end of the papers.

"Be graciously pleased, Lord, now to accept from thy Hand-maid the restitution of that, which hath been unduly heretofore taken from thy Ministers. And as an earnest and pledge of the total resignation of herself and hers to thy service, vouchsafe to receive to the use of thy Church this small portion of that large estate, which thou hast bestowed upon her the unworthiest of thy servants. Lord redeem thy right whereof thou hast been too long disseized by the world both in the possessions and in the person of thy Hand-maid. And let this outward seizure of earth be accompanied with an inward surprizal of the heart, and spirit into thine own hands: so that the restorer, as well as that which is restored, may become, and be confirmed thine inheritance.

"The bishop prayed to God that many such customers might come to him: so commended her free-will offering to God and confirmed it.

"To make them some amends for their liberality to the Church, he devised now to give them reputation against all detraction. Therefore in the spring that came after he gave them warning on what Sunday he would preach in their Church, whither an extreme press of people resorted from all the towns that heard of it. In his Sermon he inserted most what it was *to die unto the world:* that the righteous should scarce be saved: that our right eye, and our right hand, and all our fleshly contentments must be cut off, that we may enter into life. All tended to approve the dutiful and severe life of the Ferrars, and of the Church that was in their house. After Sermon the bishop took their invitation to dine with them. But they were so strict to keep that day holy, that they left not a servant at home to provide for the table. Yet it was handsomely furnished with that which was boiled, and baked, that required no attendance, to stay any one from Church to look to it. By this visit the bishop had the means to see their way of serving God; to know the soundness of doctrine which

the minister. She had from the first been so resolved, but had been put off by unexpected delays. She found great difficulty in making out the glebe lands: but at length by the industry of Mr. N. Ferrar she overcame it. She then sent her sons John and Nicholas with a letter to the bishop informing him of her determination, and desiring it might be confirmed by his authority. This authority from the bishop was farther strengthened by a decree in chancery under lord Coventry.

In the spring of 1634, the bishop to make some acknowledgement of this generosity, gave notice, that he would again pay a visit to the family and give them a sermon. And it being known that he was a lover of church music, application was made to Dr. Towers, dean of Peterborough, who sent his whole choir to Gidding on the occasion. Divine service was performed throughout in the cathedral manner with great solemnity. The bishop preached a sermon adapted to the occasion, and in the afternoon gave confirmation to all of the neighbourhood who desired it.

Every thing relative to the church being now compleatly settled, Mr. Ferrar next turned his attention to the disposition of the mansion. The house being very large, and containing many apartments, he allotted one great room for their family devotions, which he called the oratory, and adjoining to this, two other convenient rooms, one a night oratory for the men, the other a night oratory for the women: he also set out a separate chamber and closet for each of his nephews and

which they maintained; to read their rules which they had drawn up for fasts, and vigils, and large distribution of alms: in which he bade them proceed in the name of God, and gave them his blessings at his departing." Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*. Part 2. p. 51.

nieces; three more he reserved for the schoolmasters; and his own lodgings were so contrived that he could conveniently see that every thing was conducted with decency and order: without doors he laid out the gardens in a beautiful manner, and formed them in many fair walks.

Another circumstance that engaged his attention was, that the parish had for many years been turned into pasture grounds; that as there was a very large dovecote, and a great number of pigeons upon these premises, these pigeons must consequently feed upon his neighbours corn; and this he thought injustice. He therefore converted this building into a schoolhouse, which being larger than was wanted for the young people of the family, permission was given to as many of the neighbouring towns as desired it, to send their children thither, where they were instructed without expence, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the christian religion.

For this and other purposes he provided three masters to be constantly resident in the house with him. The first was to teach English to strangers, and English and Latin to the children of the family: the second, good writing in all its hands, and arithmetic in all its branches: the third, to instruct them in the theory and practice of music, in singing, and performing upon the organ, viol, and lute: on the last instrument his sister Collet was a distinguished performer.

For all these things the children had their stated times and hours. So that though they were always in action, and always learning something, yet the great variety of things they were taught prevented all weariness, and made every thing be received with pleasure. And he was used to say that he who could attain to the well-timing things, had

had gained an important point, and found the surest way to accomplish great designs with ease.

On Thursdays, and Saturdays in the afternoons, the youths were permitted to recreate themselves with bows and arrows, with running, leaping, and vaulting, and what other manly exercises they themselves liked best. With respect to the younger part of the females, the general mode of education was similar to that of the boys except where the difference of sex made a different employment or recreation proper. When the powers of reason and judgment became in some degree matured, they were all at proper times taken under the immediate instruction of Mr. Ferrar himself, who bestowed several hours every day in that important employment. According to the capacity of each he gave them passages of scripture to get by heart, and particularly the whole book of psalms. He selected proper portions of which he gave a clear explanation, and a judicious comment. But above all things he was anxiously attentive to daily catechetical lectures, according to the doctrine of the Church of England. And in order to make his pious labours extensively beneficial, he invited the children of all the surrounding parishes, to get the book of psalms by heart. To encourage them to this performance, each was presented with a psalter: all were to repair to Gidding every Sunday morning, and each was to repeat his psalm, till they could all repeat the whole book. These psalm-children, as they were called, more than a hundred in number, received every Sunday, according to the proficiency of each, a small pecuniary reward and a dinner, which was conducted with great regularity. For when they returned from church, long trestles were placed in the

middle of the great hall, round which the children stood in great order. Mrs. Ferrar, and her family then came in to see them served. The servants brought in baked puddings and meat: which was the only repast provided on Sundays for the whole family, that all might have an opportunity of attending divine service at church. She then set on the first dish herself, to give an example of humility. Grace was said, and then the bell rang for the family, who thereupon repaired to the great dining-room, and stood in order round the table. Whilst the dinner was serving, they sang a hymn to the organ: then grace was said by the minister of the parish, and they sat down. During dinner one of the younger people, whose turn it was, read a chapter in the Bible, and when that was finished, another recited some chosen story out of the book of martyrs, or Mr. Ferrar's short histories. When the dinner was finished throughout the family, at two o'clock the bell summoned them to church to evening service, whither they went in a regular form of procession, Mr. N. Ferrar sometimes leading his mother, sometimes going last in the train: and having all returned from church in the same form, thus ended the *public* employment of every Sunday.

Immediately after church the family all went into the oratory, where select portions of the psalms were repeated, and then all were at liberty till five o'clock: at which hour in summer, and six in the winter, the bell called them to supper: where all the ceremonial was repeated exactly the same as at dinner. After supper they were again at liberty till eight, when the bell summoned them all into the oratory, where they sang a hymn to the organ, and went to prayers; when the children asked blessing

blessing [a] of their parents, and then all the family retired to their respective apartments; and thus ended the *private* observation of the sabbath.

On the first Sunday of every month they always had a communion, which was administered by the clergyman of the adjoining parish; Mr. N. Ferrar assisting as deacon. All the servants who then received the communion, when dinner was brought

[a] *Asked blessing.*] This beautiful and pious custom, no small grace, ornament and blessing in the families of our ancestors (Compare Vol. II. p. 89, of this collection), appears to have received its first shock, about this period, and during the Cromwellian usurpation; an interval, in which, as it might easily be shown, a considerable portion of the best of our old English manners, and many practices, which were themselves parts of, and instruments of piety, were exploded, and lost, by being branded under the odious name of Popery. "The having of God-fathers at baptism, Churching of Women, Prayers at the burial of the Dead, *Children asking their Parents' blessing, &c*, which whilom were held *innocent* were now by *very many* thrown aside, as rags of popery. Nay, are not some gone so far already, as to cast into the *same heap*, not only the ancient hymn *Gloria Patri* (for the repeating whereof alone some have been deprived of all their livelihoods), and the *Apostles' Creed;* but even the use of the *Lord's Prayer* itself?" Preface to Sanderson's Sermons dated July 13. 1657. P. 73. edit. 1689. Yet, it is consolatory to find, that there were some happy families, of the most pious and excellent of the Non-conformists, who were not deterred by that malignant, senseless and fatal plea, from persevering in this devotion and homage to the Father of Spirits, so congenial to *his* temper and example, who commanded the young children to be brought unto him, who blamed those that would have kept them from him, who embraced them in his arms, laid his hands upon them and blessed them. "Immediately after the prayer was ended" (as we are told by the celebrated Mathew Henry, in the Life of his Father Mr. Philip Henry) "His children together with bended knee, asked blessings of him and their mother; that is, desired of them, to pray to God to bless them; which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent they were remembered; *The Lord bless you and your Brother; or you and your Sister that is absent.*" P. 56. edit. 1699.

up,

up, remained in the room, and on that day dined at the same table with Mrs. Ferrar, and the rest of the family.

That I may not be thought to conceal any thing which brought censure upon them, and led to their persecution, I will here insert the particular mode of their processions, and other circumstances which were condemned by some as being superstitious. I shall not pass any judgment myself on these ceremonials, relating mere matter of fact, and observing only that where there was error, it was error on the side of virtue and goodness.

When their early devotions in the oratory were finished they proceeded to church in the following order,

First, the three schoolmasters, in black gowns and Monmouth caps.

Then, Mrs. Ferrar's grandsons, clad in the same manner, two and two.

Then, her son Mr. J. Ferrar, and her son in law Mr. Collet, in the same dress.

Then, Mr. N. Ferrar, in surplice, hood, and square cap, sometimes leading his mother.

Then, Mrs. Collet, and all her daughters, two and two.

Then, all the servants, two and two. The dress of all was uniform.

Then, on Sundays, all the psalm-children, two and two.

As they came into the church, every person made a low obeisance, and all took their appointed places. The masters, and gentlemen in the chancel: the youths knelt on the upper step of the half pace; Mrs. Ferrar, her daughters, and all her grand-daughters in a fair island seat. Mr. N. Ferrar at coming in made a low obeisance; a few paces farther, a lower; and at the half-pace, a lower still: then went in-

to the reading desk, and read matins according to the book of common prayer. This service over, they returned in the same order, and with the same solemnity. This ceremonial was regularly observed every Sunday, and that on every common day was nearly the same. They rose at four; at five went to the oratory to prayers; at six, said the psalms of the hour; for every hour had its appointed psalms, with some portion of the gospel, till Mr. Ferrar had finished his Concordance, when a chapter of that work was substituted in place of the portion of the gospel. Then they sang a short hymn, repeated some passages of scripture, and at half past six went to church to matins. At seven said the psalms of the hour, sang the short hymn, and went to breakfast. Then the young people repaired to their respective places of instruction. At ten, to church to the litany. At eleven to dinner. At which seasons were regular readings in rotation, from the scripture, from the book of martyrs, and from short histories drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, and adapted to the purpose of moral instruction. Recreation was permitted till one; instruction was continued till three. Church at four, for evensong; supper at five, or sometimes six. Diversions till eight. Then prayers in the oratory: and afterwards all retired to their respective apartments. To preserve regularity in point of time, Mr. Ferrar invented dials in painted glass in every room: he had also sundials, elegantly painted with proper mottos, on every side of the church: and he provided an excellent clock to a sonorous bell.

The short histories alluded to above were probably composed on the occasion, and to suit some present purpose. Those which are still remaining in

in my possession are put together without any regularity of series, or any dependance of one upon another, and are as in the catalogue annexed [3].

These

[3] LIVES.

The life of Monica.
Of Abraham.
Of Elizer.
Of Lady Paula.
Of Hyldegardis.
Of Paracelsus.
Of Dr. Whitaker.
Of Scaliger.
Of Mr. Perkins.
Of Dr. Metcalf.
Of Sir Fran. Drake.
Of Mr. Cambden.
Of Haman.
Of Wolsey.
Of Brandon D. of Suffolk.
The life of Ld. Burleigh.
Of Sir J. Markham.
Of St. Augustin.
Of Bp. Ridley.
Of L. Jane Grey.
Of Q. Elizabeth.
Of Gus. Adolphus.
Of the Black Prince.
Of Joan Q. of Naples.
Of the Witch of Endor.
Of Joan of Arc.
Of Cæsar Borgia.
Of Jehu.
Of Andronicus Commenus.
Of the Duke of Alva.

CHARACTERS.

The good Wife.
The good Husband.
The good Parent.
The good Child.
The good Master.
The good Servant.
The good Widow.
The constant Virgin.
The elder Brother.
The younger Brother.
The good Advocate.
The good Physician.
The controversial Divines.
The true Church antiquary.
The general Artist.
The faithful Minister.
The good Parishioner.
The good Patron.
The good Landlord.
The good Mr. of a College.
The good Schoolmaster.
The good Merchant.
The good Yeoman.
The Handicrafts Man.
The good Soldier.
The good Sea-Captain.
The good Herald.
The true Gentleman.
The Favourite.
The wise Statesman.
The good Judge.
The good Bishop.
The true Nobleman.
The Court Lady.
The Embassadour.
The good General.
The heir Apparent to the Crown.
The King.
The Harlot.

The

These lives, characters, and moral essays would, I think fill two or three volumes in octavo. They are but a small part of the MS. works which Mr. Ferrar left behind him, which, as appears from some papers still existing, amounted to five volumes in folio. He was of opinion that instruction merely by precept might sometimes become dry and wearisome, and therefore was desirous to enliven his lectures by something that might give pleasure to the fancy at the same time that it conveyed wisdom to the heart. But he had great objection to plays, novels, and romances, and to poems, that were then, and indeed have ever since been in great esteem. He thought that in many instances they did not tend to the important point which he had in view. But he reflected also that our Saviour

The Witch.
The Atheist.
The Hypocrite.
The Heretic.
The rigid Donatist.
The Liar.
The common Barreter.
The degenerous Gentleman.
The Pazzians Conspiracy.
The Tyrant.

GENERAL RULES, OR ESSAYS.

CHAP.
1. Of Hospitality.
2. Of Jesting.
3. Of Self-praising.
4. Of Travelling.
5. Of Company.
6. Of Apparel.
7. Of Building.
8. Of Anger.
9. Of expecting Preferment.
10. Of Memory.
11. Of Fancy.
12. Of Natural Fools.
13. Of Recreations.
14. Of Tombs.
15. Of Deformities.
16. Of Plantations.
17. Of Contentment.
18. Of Books.
19. Of Time-serving.
20. Of Moderation.
21. Of Gravity.
22. Of Marriage.
23. Of Fame.
24. Of the Antiquity of Churches, and the Necessity of them.
25. Of Ministers Maintainance.

himself

himself frequently delivered his discourses in parables; and therefore that fable, to a certain degree, might be admitted in moral instruction. With this view he composed those stories, and essays, which were intended to enliven their readings, and conversations. Beside these, he drew up regular discourses upon all the fasts, and feasts of the church, and these also in their order made part of the readings. Every one of the young people, from the eldest to the youngest, male and female, was exercised every day in these public readings, and repetitions: by which the memory was wonderfully strengthened, and they all attained great excellence in speaking with propriety and grace.

But now four of Mr. Collet's eldest daughters being grown up to woman's estate, to perfect them in the practice of good housewifery, Mr. Ferrar appointed them in rotation to take the whole charge of the domestic œconomy. Each had this care for a month, when her accounts were regularly passed, allowed, and delivered over to the next in succession. There was also the same care and regularity required with respect to the surgeon's chest; and the due provision of medicines and all things necessary for those who were sick, or hurt by any misfortune. A convenient apartment was provided for those of the family who chanced to be indisposed, called the infirmary, where they might be attended, and properly taken care of, without disturbance from any part of the numerous family. A large room was also set apart for the reception of the medicines, and of those who were brought in sick, or hurt, and wanted immediate assistance. The young ladies were required to dress the wounds of those who were hurt, in order to give them readiness and skill in this employment,

employment, and to habituate them to the virtues of humility, and tenderness of heart[4]. The office relative to pharmacy, the weekly inspection, the prescription, and administration of medicines, Mr. Ferrar reserved to himself, being an excellent physician: as he had for many years attentively studied the theory, and practice of medicine, both when physic fellow at Clare-hall, and under the celebrated professors at Padua. In this way was a considerable part of their income disposed of, and thus did Mr. Ferrar form his nieces to be wise and useful, virtuous, and valuable women.

In order to give some variety to this system of education, he formed the family into a sort of collegiate institution, of which one was considered as the founder, another guardian, a third as moderator, and himself as visitor of this little academy.

[4] *Tenderness of heart.*] In the reliques of ancient English poetry we read " As to what will be observed in this ballad (Sir Cauline) of the art of healing being practised by a young princess, it is no more than what is usual in all the old romances, and was conformable to real manners; it being a practice derived from the earliest times among all the Gothic, and Celtic nations for women even of the highest rank to exercise the art of surgery. In the northern chronicles we always find the young damsels stanching the wounds of their lovers, and the wives those of their husbands. And even so late as the time of Q. Elizabeth it is mentioned among the accomplishments of the ladies of her court, that the eldest of them are skilfull in surgery." Rel. of Ant. Eng. Poetry. Introd. to sir Cauline, p. 39.

" I could set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, while the youngest sort applie to their lutes, citharnes, prick-song, and all kinds of music: how many of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgery, and distillation of waters, &c. I might easily declare, but I pass over such manner of dealing, lest I should seem to glaver, and currie favour with some of them." Harrison's Descrip. of Eng. before Hollingshead's Chron. p. 196. col. 2. l. 20.

The

The seven virgin daughters formed the junior part of this society, were called the sisters, and assumed the names of 1st. The Chief. 2d. The Patient. 3d. The Chearful. 4th. The Affectionate. 5th. The Submiss. 6th. The Obedient. 7th. The Moderate. These all had their respective characters to sustain, and exercises to perform suited to those characters.

For the Christmas season of the year 1631, he composed twelve excellent discourses, five suited to the festivals within the twelve days, and seven to the assumed name and character of the sisters. These were enlivened by hymns and odes composed by Mr. Ferrar, and set to music by the music master of the family, who accompanied the voices with the viol, or the lute. That exercise which was to be performed by the Patient, is alone to be excepted. There was not any poetry, or music at the opening of this as of all the rest: the discourse itself was of a very serious turn, it was much longer than any other, and had not any historical anecdote, or fable interwoven into the body of it. The contrivance here was to exercise that virtue which it was intended to teach.

Upon the whole, these and many other dialogues, conversations, histories, fables, and essays, which Nicholas Ferrar penned for the immediate use of his family, and left behind him in many large volumes, if ever the world should be so happy as to see them, will best shew what he was, a man every way so complete, that few ages have brought forth his equal; whether we consider his vast memory, his deep judgment, his rare contrivance, or the elegance of stile in the matter, and manner of his compositions.

Amongst other articles of instruction and amusement Mr. Ferrar entertained an ingenious book-

binder

binder who taught the family, females as well as males, the whole art and skill of bookbinding, gilding, lettering, and what they called pasting-printing, by the use of the rolling-press. By this assistance he composed a full harmony, or concordance of the four evangelists, adorned with many beautiful pictures, which required more than a year for the composition, and was divided into 150 heads or chapters. For this purpose he set apart a handsome room near the oratory. Here he had a large table, two printed copies of the evangelists, of the same edition, and great store of the best and strongest white paper. Here he spent more than an hour every day in the contrivance of this book, and in directing his nieces, who attended him for that purpose, how they should cut out such and such particular passages out of the two printed copies of any part of each evangelist, and then lay them together so as to perfect such a head or chapter as he had designed. This they did first roughly, and then with nice knives, and scissars so neatly fitted each passage to the next belonging to it, and afterwards pasted them so even and smoothly together, upon large sheets of the best white paper, by the help of the rolling-press, that many curious persons who saw the work when it was done, were deceived, and thought that it had been printed in the ordinary way. This was the *mechanical method* which he followed in compiling his harmony. The title of his book was as follows.

"The Actions, Doctrines, and other Passages touching our blessed Lord and Saviour J. Christ, as they are related in the four Evangelists, reduced into one compleat body of history: wherein that which is severally related by them is digested into order; and that which is jointly related by all or

any

any of them is, first, expressed in their own words, by way of comparison; secondly, brought into one narration by way of composition: thirdly, extracted into one clear context by way of collection; yet so as whatsoever was omitted in the context is inserted by way of supplement in another print, and in such a manner as all the four evangelists may be easily read severally and distinctly; each apart and alone from first to last: and in each page throughout the book are sundry pictures added, expressing either the facts themselves, or their types and figures; or other things appertaining thereunto. The whole divided into 150 heads."

I cannot help transcribing here a passage from Dr. Priestley's preface to his Harmony of the Evangelists. "If I should be thought to have succeeded better than the generality of my predecessors, I shall attribute it chiefly to the mechanical methods I made use of in the arrangement of it; which were as follow. I procured two printed copies of the gospel, and having cancelled one side of every sheet, I cut out all the separate histories, &c. in each gospel, and having a large table appropriated to that use, I placed all the corresponding parts opposite to each other, and in such an order as the comparison of them (which when they were brought so near together was exceedingly easy) directed.

"In this loose order the whole harmony lay before me a considerable time, in which I kept reviewing it at my leisure, and changing the places of the several parts of it, till I was as well satisfied with the arrangement of them, as the nature of the case would admit. I then fixed the places of all these separate papers, by pasting them, in the order in which they lay before me, upon different pieces

pieces of pasteboard, carefully numbered and by this means also divided into sections."

This exact agreement in contrivance between two men of uncommon genius and abilities, with respect both to the plan and conduct of the work; men living at a hundred and sixty years difference of time, men too in learning, penetration, and judgment perfectly qualified for so arduous an undertaking, affords the strongest presumptive proof of the excellence of the method, and at the same time the highest recommendation of it to the observation and practice of all who are engaged in a similar course of study.

Several of the harmonies were afterward finished upon the same plan with some improvements: one of these books was presented to Mr. Ferrar's most dear and intimate friend, the well known Mr. Geo. Herbert, who in his letter of thanks for it, calls it a most inestimable jewel; another was given to his other singular friend Dr. Jackson. The fame of this work, the production of a man so celebrated as the author had been, soon reached the ears of the king, who took the first opportunity to make himself personally acquainted with it, by obtaining the perusal of it.

Mr. Ferrar about this time wrote several very valuable treatises, and made several translations from authors in different languages, on subjects which he thought might prove serviceable to the cause of religion. Among others, having long had a high opinion of John Valdesso's *Hundred and ten Considerations*, &c. a book which he met with in his travels, he now (in 1632) translated it from the Italian copy into English, and sent it to be examined and censured by his friend Mr. Herbert, before it was made public. Which excellent book Mr.

Herbert

Herbert returned with many marginal notes, and criticisms, as they are now printed with it; with an affectionate letter also recommending the publication.

In May, 1633, his majesty set out upon his journey to Scotland, and in his progress he stepped a little out of his road to view Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, which by the common people was called *the Protestant Nunnery.* The family having notice, met his majesty at the extremity of the parish, at a place called, from this event, the King's Close: and in the form of their solemn processions conducted him to their church, which he viewed with great pleasure. He enquired into, and was informed of the particulars of their public, and domestic œconomy: but it does not appear that at this time he made any considerable stay. The following summer his majesty and the queen passed two nights at Apethorp in Northamptonshire, the seat of Mildmay Fane earl of Westmoreland. From thence he sent one of his gentlemen to *intreat* (his majesty's own word) a sight of *The Concordance*, which, he had heard, was some time since done at Gidding; with assurance that in a few days, when he had perused it, he would send it back again. Mr. N. Ferrar was then in London, and the family made some little demur, not thinking it worthy to be put into his majesty's hands; but at length they delivered it to the messenger. But it was not returned in a few days, or weeks: some months were elapsed, when the gentleman brought it back from the king, who was then at London. He said he had many things to deliver to the family from his master. First, to yield the king's hearty thanks to them all for the sight of the book, which passed the report he had heard of it. Then to signify his approbation of it in all

respects

respects. Next to excuse him in two points. The first for not returning it so soon as he had promised: the other for that he had in many places of the margin written notes in it with his own hand. And (which I know will please you) said the gentleman, you will find an instance of my master's humility in one of the margins. The place I mean is where he had written something with his own hand, and then put it out again, acknowledging that he was mistaken in that particular. Certainly this was an act of great humility in the king and worthy to be noted; and the book itself is much graced by it.

The gentleman farther told them, that the king took such delight in it, that he passed some part of every day in perusing it. And lastly, he said, to shew you how true this is, and that what I have declared is no court compliment, I am expressly commanded by my master, earnestly to request of you, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and of the young ladies, that you would make him one of these books for his own use, and if you will please to undertake it, his majesty says you will do him a most acceptable service.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar and the young ladies returned their most humble duty, and immediately set about what the king desired. In about a year's time it was finished; and it was sent to London to be presented to his majesty by Dr. Laud, then made archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Cosins, master of Peterhouse, whose turn it was to wait that month, being one of the king's chaplains. This book was bound entirely by Mary Collet (one of Mr. Ferrar's nieces) all wrought in gold, in a new and most elegant fashion.

The king after long and serious looking it over, said, "This is indeed a most valuable work,

 and

and in many respects worthy to be presented to the greatest prince upon earth. For the matter it contains is the richest of all treasures. The laborious composure of it into this excellent form of an harmony; the judicious contrivance of the method, the curious workmanship in so neatly cutting out and disposing the text, the nice laying of these costly pictures, and the exquisite art expressed in the binding, are, I really think, not to be equalled. I must acknowledge myself to be indeed greatly indebted to the family for this jewel: and whatever is in my power, I shall at any time be ready to do for any of them."

Then after some pause, taking the book into his hands, he said, "And what think you, my lord of Canterbury, and you Dr. Cosins, if I should ask a second favour of these good people? indeed I have another request to make to them, and it is this. I often read over the lives and actions of the kings of Judah and Israel in the books of the Kings, and the Chronicles, and I frequently meet with difficulties. I should be much obliged if Mr. Ferrar would make me such a book as may bring all these matters together into one regular narration, that I may read the whole in one continued story, and yet at the same time may be able to see them separate; or what belongs to one book, and what to another. I have long ago moved several of my chaplains to undertake this business: but it is not done: I suppose it is attended with too much difficulty. Will you, my lord, apply for me to Mr. Ferrar?" The archbishop wrote to Mr. Ferrar, acquainting him with the king's desires, and Mr. Ferrar immediately set himself about the work.

In the course of little more than a year, about Oct. 1636, Mr. Ferrar and his assistants completed the

the harmony of the two books of the Kings and Chronicles, and young Nicholas Ferrar bound it in purple velvet, most richly gilt. It was sent to the archbishop and Dr. Cosins, to be by them presented to the king. His majesty was extremely delighted with it, saying, "It was a fit mirror for a king's daily inspection. Herein, he said, I shall behold God's mercies and judgments: his punishing of evil princes, and rewarding the good. To these his promises, to those his threatenings most surely accomplished. I have a second time gained a great treasure. What I said of the first book, I may most justly say of this; and I desire you will let them know my high esteem both of it and of them." Dr. Cosins then presented a letter from Mr. Ferrar, which the king declared he thought the finest composition he ever read. In farther discoursing of these harmonies with the divines, the king determined that for public benefit they should be printed under his own immediate command and protection. But the troubles of the ensuing times prevented this laudable purpose from being carried into execution. The title of this second harmony was as follows:

"The History of the Israelites from the death of King Saul, to their carrying away captive into Babylon: collected out of the books of the Kings, and Chronicles, in the words of the text, without any alteration of importance by addition to or diminution from them. Whereby, first, all the actions and passages related in any of the books of the Kings and Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration. Secondly, they are digested into an orderly dependance one upon the other. Thirdly, many difficult places are cleared, and many seeming differences between the books of Kings and

Chronicles, compounded. And this is so contrived, as notwithstanding the mutual compositions of the books into one historical collection, yet the form of each of them is preserved entire, in such a manner as they may be easily read, severally and distinctly from first to last. Together with several tables. The first, summarily declaring the several heads or chapters into which the historical collection is divided. The second, specifying what passages are related severally in the aforesaid books, and what are jointly related by them both: as also in what heads and chapters in this collection they may be found. The third, shewing where every chapter of the texts themselves, and every part of them may be readily found in this historical collection."

Fragments of one copy of this, and some other of the harmonies, with some of the prints belonging to them, and the three tables specified in the title above, have lately been found among the old MSS. of the family: but very much disjointed and confused, and considerably hurt by time and other injuries.

These are probably the last works of this sort, executed by Mr. Ferrar, who died in little more than a year, and was very weak and infirm a considerable time before his death. But the connection between the king and this family did not cease on Mr. Ferrar's death. For it appears from several papers still in being, that there was what may be justly called a friendly intercourse subsisting, even till the distressful year 1646. For during this interval, and after the death of Mr. Ferrar, other harmonies of other parts of the Scripture were drawn up by Nicholas Ferrar jun. upon the plan of his uncle, by the particular direction of the king, for the use of the prince; and were to

him

him presented in the years 1639, 1641, and at other times. This extraordinary young man was particularly favoured by the king, who had undertaken to send him to Oxford under his own immediate protection; and to take upon himself the care and expence of completing his education. But his ill state of health, which ended in an early death, prevented the execution of this benevolent intention. The particular memorials [5] of this intercourse were probably lost in the ensuing distractions.

On the 27th of April, in that fatal year (1646) the king left Oxford. Being unresolved how to dispose of himself, he shifted about from place to place, with his trusty chaplain, Dr. Hudson, and at length came to Downham in Norfolk. From thence he came on May the 2d very privately and in the night to Gidding. Mr. Nicholas Ferrar had been dead several years. But the king having an entire confidence in the family, made himself known to Mr. John Ferrar, who received his majesty with all possible duty and respect. But fearing that Gidding, from the known loyalty of the family, might be a suspected place, for better concealment he conducted his majesty to a private house at Coppinford, an obscure village at a small distance from Gidding, and not far from Stilton. Here the king slept, and went from thence, May 3, to Stamford, where he lodged one night, staid till eleven the next night, and from thence went, on May 5, to the Scotch army.

Of the king's coming at this time in this state

[5] *The particular memorials.*] These memorials, the subject deservedly of Dr. Peckard's repeated regret, have happily been preserved and are published in this edition from a MS. (No. 251.) in the Lambeth Library, p. 229.

of

of distress to Gidding, I collect them from various authorities the following evidence.

In the examination of Dr. Michael Hudson, taken May 16, 1646, before Henry Dawson esq; dep. mayor of Newcastle upon Tyne, he deposes that he came from Oxford on Monday morning about 3 o'clock, April 27; and that his majesty, Mr. Ashburnham and himself made use of an old pass, which they had gotten from an officer in Oxford. That they went first to Dorchester, then to Henley, Maidenhead, and so on the road toward London: but he refused to say where the king lodged on Monday night. That when they turned to go northward, his majesty lodged Tuesday, Ap. 28, at Whethamstead near to St. Albans. That from thence his majesty went to a small village within seven miles from Newmarket, and lodged in a common inn, Wednesday 29. From thence they went to a place called Downham, where his majesty lodged, Thursday 30. From thence to Coppinford, where his majesty lodged, Friday, May 1. From thence to Stamford, May 2, where they stayed till midnight, May 3. Went from thence, Monday, May 4, and came to the Scotch army, Tuesday, May, 5.

This is the substance of the examination of Dr. Hudson concerning the king's journey from Oxford to the Scotch army [6].

In

[6] *Scotch army.*] [Michael Hudson was born in Westmoreland, and educated in Queen's College, Oxford. In 1630 he was made fellow of that College. He was afterward beneficed in Lincolnshire. But when the king set up his standard he left his benefice and adhered to him. After the battle at Edge-hill he retired to Oxford, and in February, 1642, was created D.D. and made chaplain to his majesty. Soon after, he had an important employment in the army in the north under the command of the marquis of Newcastle. On the 8th of

In the letter from Miles Corbett, and Valentine Walton to Mr. Lenthall the speaker, directed, *Haste, Haste, Post Haste*, the account agrees with the examination of Dr. Hudson, with respect to the king's coming with Hudson to Downham, and lodging there on Thursday the last day of April, but states that they *cannot learn* where they were on Friday night. It afterwards mentions several particular circumstances, as their being at a blind alehouse at Crimplesham about eight miles from Lynn, and the king's being in a parson's habit, and changing his black coat and cassock for a grey one procured by Mr. Skipwith; and that his majesty bought a new hat at Downham. But these particulars seem to be delivered more from hearsay accounts, than regular evidence. The main

of June, 1646, he was disovered at Rochester, brought to London, and committed prisoner to London house. On Nov. 18, he escaped from his prison, and in January following he was retaken, and committed close prisoner to the Tower. He escaped also from thence in the beginning of 1648. On the 6th of June that year, intelligence was brought to the parliament that the royalists were in arms in Lincolnshire under the command of Dr. Hudson; and two days after, information came from col. Tho. Waite that he had suppressed the insurrection of malignants at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and had killed their commander Dr. Hudson.

The circumstances of his death were attended with peculiar barbarity. He fled with the chief of his party to Woodcroft house near Peterborough. The house being forced, and most of the royalists taken, Hudson, with some of the most courageous, went to the battlements, where they defended themselves for some time. At length, upon promise of quarter, they yielded; but when they had so done, the promise of quarter was broken. Hudson being thrown over the battlements, caught old of a spout, or out-stone, and there hung: but his hands being cut off, he fell into the moat underneath, much wounded, and desired to come on land to die there. As he approached the shore, one of his enemies beat his brains out with the butt end of his musket. See A. Wood, Vol. II. col. 113.]

purport of this letter confirms the deposition in Dr. Hudson's examination, that the king certainly was at Downham, on the last of April, or the first of May: and in fact he was there on both days, coming to that place on the last of April, and leaving it on the first of May.

Mr. Ferrar's MS. asserts that the king came very privately to Gidding, May 2. Dr. Hudson says the king slept at Coppinford, May 1. These two accounts may easily be reconciled. Dr. Hudson reckons the night, or time of his majesty's lodging and sleeping, as belonging to the preceding day, on which he came from Downham or Crimplesham, which was May the first. But as the king came very privately to Gidding, and in the very dead of the night; and as it must necessarilyrequire some time to provide for his lodging at Coppinford, this would of course break into the morning of May the 2[d]: and Mr. Ferrar might with equal propriety say that the king came very privately to Gidding, and that he conducted his majesty to sleep at Coppinford, May 2.

These circumstances must awaken the compassion [7] of every feeling heart, even amongst those who are disposed to lay the heaviest load of blame

[7] *Awaken the compassion.*] The distresses of this unhappy Monarch, independently of the last bloody scene of the tragedy, excited much commiseration in the English hearts even of many who never sided amongst his partizans in the war. We are told in the Life of Mr. Thomas Rosewell, afterwards a Dissenting Minister, and who was found guilty of Treason in the reign of Charles II, that travelling a little from home, he accidentally saw King Charles the first, in the fields, sitting at dinner under a tree, with some few persons about him. This made such deep impressions in his young and tender mind, as disposed him to the greater compassion and loyalty towards that unhappy Monarch." Trial of Mr. Thomas Rosewell, p. 5.

upon

upon the king: since they are mentioned not as an insinuation that he was free from faults, or as an extenuation of those with which he might be justly charged: but as a proof of very affecting distress, and a strong instance of the instability of worldly greatness. He had his faults; and who hath not? but let it be remembered that there were virtues to set in the balance against them.

I have been anxious to ascertain this point, from a desire to make it known beyond all doubt, what was the very last place where this most unfortunate prince was in the hands of those whom he might safely trust, and under the protection of an honest and confidential friend; and that this place was the residence, and now contains the remains of that worthy person to whose memory these pages are devoted.

In fitting up the house at Gidding, moral sentences, and short passages from the Scriptures[8] had been put up in various places; and in the great parlour

[8] *Passages from the Scriptures.*] This was according to a practice introduced, both into houses and churches, about the time of the Reformation.

" *Christophor.* I am loth to go so soone out of this your Hall, which feedeth mine eies with so many godly and goodly spectacles. *Philemon.* Why is here any thing that you thinke worthy to be looked upon? *Christoph.* Every thing is here so pleasaunte and comfortable to the eye of a Christian man, that he being in this Haull maye justlye seeme to be in a delectable paradise, I had almost sayd in another heaven. For here is nothing dumme: all things speake. *Theophile.* I pray you what is there written upon your parclose dore? *Philem.* The saying of Christ, *I am the dore: by me if any man entreth in, he shall be safe, and shall goe in and out, and shall find pasture.* This is done to put me and my housholde in remembrance that Christ is the dore by whome we must enter into the favour of God. *Eusebius.* This is christenly done. What is this, that is written upon your chimney? *Phil.* The saying of the Prophete Esay, *The fire of them shall not be quenched. Christ.* This

parlour was an inscription which gave rise to much speculation and censure. It was nevertheless first approved of by several judicious divines, and particularly

This is a terrible and hard saying. *Phil.* I have paynted this sentence in that place, that as the other fixed upon the dore maketh me to rejoyse and to put my whole affyaunce in Christ, so this in like maner should absterre and feare me and mine from doyng evil whan by lookyng on this text we consider with ourselves the unquencheable flames of hell fier.—*Euseb.* What have ye there written in your window? *Philem.* Christes saying in the Gospel of S. John, *I am the light of the world. He that followeth me walketh not in darkeness, but shall have the light of life. Theoph.* Your table also, me thinke, speaketh. *Philem.* Herein is graven the saying of Christ, *Blessed is he that eateth bread in the kingdom of God.* This is to admonish us, that we should not have all our pleasure in eating, drinking, and banketing after the maner of Epicures, but rather desier so to live in this world, that after this life we may be fed in the joyful kingdom of God by enjoying the most glorious sight of the divine majestie. *Euseb.* What have ye paynted over youre table? *Philem.* The sayinge of the prophete Esay, yea rather the commaundement of God by his Prophet, *Breake thy bread to the hungry, and leade in the needy and way-faring into thy house. Euseb.* I pray you what is that your chaires and stoles have carved on them? *Philem.* A saying of Christ in the Revelation of John; *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne.* It is not unknowen to you, I am sure, how comfortable a thing it is for a wery body to sit, and to have a restyng place. Certes it is a thousande times more comfortable to have a place where body and soule after so many great and daungerous conflictes in this miserable worlde, may quietly rest. Therefore have I wrytten this texte on my chayres and stoles, to put me and myne in remembrance, that if we will find rest after this life, we must seriously not dally, but fighte with Satan our enemy." The cup, the dishes, the laver, the virginals, the door posts, all had their respective superscriptions in the house of Philemon, which are recounted in the progress of the Dialogue. The last instance mentioned, is the following. "*Euseb.* I pray you what two great tables have you hanging there openly? *Phil.* This is the table of the Ten Commaundements, which teacheth us what we ought to do, and what to eschewe. The other is a table also which containeth in it the offices of all degrees and

ticularly by Mr. Herbert, who advised it to be engraved in brass, and so hung up that it might be seen of all. But calumny was now gone forth, and nothing could be done at Gidding that was not subjected to the severest misrepresentation. The inscription was as follows:

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He who (by reproot of our errors, & remonstrance of that which is more perfect) seeks to make us better, is welcome as an Angel of God.	And	He who (by a chearfull participation of that which is good) confirms us in the same, is welcome as a Christian Friend.
	But	
He who any ways goes about to disturb us in that which is & ought to be amongst Christians (tho' it be not usual in the world) is a burden whilst he stays and shall bear his judgment whosoever he be.	And	He who faults us in absence for that which in presence he made shew to approve of, doth by a double guilt of Flattery & Slander violate the Bands both of Friendship and Charity.

Mary Ferrar, Widow
Mother of this Family
aged fourscore years
(who bids adieu to all fears and hopes of this world
and only desires to serve God)
set up this Table.

The

and estates. It teacheth us what we owe to our most noble Prince, to our parentes, and to all superioures. In this table every man from the highest degree to the lowest may learne his office and duety. Therefore are these two tables red every day openly in my house: my wife and children, with all my servaunts beyng called thereunto, and giving attendance diligently to the reading of the same. If any of my houshold transgresse any parcel of God's lawe, he is brought streight way to these tables, and by them is his faulte declared unto hym. This is the order of my house. Other correccion than this

The extraordinary course of life pursued at Gidding, the strictness of their rules, their prayers, literally without ceasing, their abstinence, mortifications, nightly watchings, and various other peculiarities, gave birth to censure in some, and inflamed the malevolence of others, but excited the wonder and curiosity of all. So that they were frequently visited with different views by persons of all denominations, and of opposite opinions. They received all who came with courteous civility; and from those who were inquisitive they concealed nothing: for in truth there was not any thing either in their opinions or their practice that was in the least degree necessary to be concealed. Whether their conduct was a subject of admiration or of imitation is a distinct enquiry, which at present there is not any occasion to enter upon. They were at the time, notwithstanding all the real good they did, severally slandered and vilified: by some they were abused as Papists; by others as Puritans. Mr. Ferrar himself, though possessed of uncommon patience, and resignation, yet in anguish of spirit complained to his friends, that the perpetual obloquy he endured was a sort of unceasing martyrdom[9].

Hence

this use I none: yet notwithstanding, I thanke my Lord God, all doe theyr duety so well, that I cannot wysh it to be done better." Becon's *Christmasse Banket*. Works, Vol. I. fol. 17. A. D. 1564. See also fol. 34. In the reign of Q. Mary all the texts of Scripture which had been written on the walls of Churches were commanded by authority to be blotted out and defaced. See Becon's *Works*, Vol. 3. fol. 176. b. and Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. 3. p. 57.

9 *Unceasing martyrdom.*] "He was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to do, could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing, not resenting, his own sufferings in this kind, that *to fry a faggot*, was

Hence violent invectives, and inflammatory pamphlets were published against them. Amongst others, not long after Mr. Ferrar's death, a treatise was addressed to the parliament, entitled, *The Arminian Nunnery, or a brief description and relation of the late erected Monastical Place, called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire: humbly addressed to the wise consideration of the present Parliament. The foundation is by a company of Ferrars at Gidding. Printed for Tho. Underhill*, 1641.

In which production there is nothing but falshood, or what is much worse, truth wilfully so mangled and misrepresented as to answer the vilest ends of falshood. And this sort of malignity was carried to such a length, that not long before the real tragedy of king Charles was perpetrated, certain soldiers of the parliament party resolved to plunder the house at Gidding. The family being informed of their hasty approach, thought it prudent to fly, and, as to their persons, endeavour to escape the intended violence.

These military zealots, in the rage of what they called reformation, ransacked both the church and the house. In doing which they expressed a parti-

was not more martyrdom, than continual obloquy. He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under millstone of contrary reports; that he was a *Papist*, and that he was a *Puritan*. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Esay, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanized, as other saints of God were! And after his death, when by injunction, which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his death bed, a great company of comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, &c. were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to Christian principles and practices, (that was his brand) some poor people said, *He was a conjurer.*" Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert, prefixed to his Country Parson.

cular

cular spite against the organ. This they broke in pieces, of which they made a large fire, and thereat roasted several of Mr. Ferrar's sheep, which they had killed in his grounds. This done, they seized all the plate, furniture, and provision which they could conveniently carry away. And in this general devastation perished those works of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar which merited a better fate.

Certainly no family suffered more from less cause of offence: for though they were pious and firm members of the church of England, they behaved themselves quietly, and with christian benevolence towards all men of all denominations: and although they practised austerities which were not exceeded by the severest orders of the monastic institutions, yet they neither required them from others, nor in themselves attributed any saving merit to them; austerities which mistaken piety thought a duty, but which, it must be confessed, have not any proper foundation in the christian institution.

A short time before the commission of these violences, bishop Williams paid his last friendly visit at Gidding, and seeing the inscription in the parlour, said to Mr. John Ferrar, "I would advise you to take this table down. You see the times grow high and turbulent, and no one knows where the rage and madness of the people may end. I am just come from Boston, where I was used very coarsely. I do not speak as by authority, I only advise you as a friend, for fear of offence or worse consequences." Then after sincerely condoling with them on their irreparable misfortune in the death of Nicholas Ferrar, he bade them his final farewell. But ever after continued their firm friend, and constantly vindicated the family from the many slanders

slanders of their false accusers.—But to return from this digression.

Mrs. Ferrar, towards the close of her life, seems to have been convinced that the mortifications practised by the family, were more than were necessary, and she became apprehensive for the health, and even for the life of her beloved son. She therefore earnestly entreated him, and with many tears besought him, that he would relax a little in the severe discipline which he exercised upon himself. And he, being an example of filial obedience, complied in some degree with her request, during the remainder of her life: but this was not of long continuance.

In the year 1635, ten years after coming to Gidding, this excellent woman died, aged eighty-three years. Her character, as follows, is given by her son Mr. John Ferrar, who collected, and left the materials for these Memoirs. "Though of so great age, at her dying day, she had no infirmity, and scarce any sign of old age upon her. Her hearing, sight, and all her senses were very good. She had never lost a tooth; she walked very upright, and with great agility. Nor was she troubled with any pains or uneasiness of body. While she lived at Gidding she rose, summer and winter, at five o'clock, and sometimes sooner. In her person she was of a comely presence, and had a countenance so full of gravity that it drew respect from all who beheld her. In her words she was courteous, in her actions obliging. In her diet always very temperate; saying, she did not live to eat and drink, but ate and drank to live. She was a pattern of piety, benevolence, and charity. And thus she lived and died, esteemed, revered, and beloved of all who knew her." Such are the effects of a life of temperance and virtue.

While

While his mother was yet living Mr. Ferrar did so far comply with her request, that he went to bed, or lay down upon it, from nine in the evening till one in the morning, which was his constant hour of rising to his devotions. But after her death he never did either: but wrapping himself in a loose frieze gown, slept on a bear's skin upon the boards. He also watched either in the oratory, or in the church three nights in the week.

These nightly watchings having been frequently mentioned, it may not be improper here to give a short account of the rules under which they were performed. It was agreed that there should be a constant double nightwatch, of men at one end of the house, and of women at the other. That each watch should consist of two or more persons. That the watchings should begin at nine o'clock at night, and end at one in the morning. That each watch should in those four hours, carefully and distinctly say over the whole book of psalms, in the way of Antiphony, one repeating one verse, and the rest the other. That they should then pray for the life of the king and his sons. The time of their watch being ended, they went to Mr. Ferrar's door, bade him good morrow, and left a lighted candle for him. At one he constantly rose, and betook himself to religious meditation, founding this practice on an acceptation too literal of the passage, *At midnight will I rise and give thanks*, and some other passages of similar import. Several religious persons both in the neighbourhood, and from distant places, attended these watchings: and amongst these the celebrated Mr. Rich. Crashaw, fellow of Peterhouse, who was very intimate in the family, and frequently came from Cambridge for this purpose, and at his return often watched

watched in Little St. Mary's church near Peterhouse[1].

His friends perceiving a visible decay of his strength, remonstrated against these austerities,

[1] *near Peterhouse.*] [A most respectable author hath given his sanction, if not to the severity, at least to a moderate observation of this mode of psalmody, in his Comment on the 134th Psalm.

"Bless ye the Lord all ye servants of the Lord, who by night stand in the house of the Lord. Bless him in the chearful and busy hours of the day: bless him in the solemn and peaceful watches of the night.

"The pious Mr. Nicholas Ferrar exhibited in the last century an instance of a protestant family, in which a constant course of psalmody was appointed, and so strictly kept up, that through the whole four and twenty hours of day and night, there was no portion of time when some of the members were not employed in performing that most pleasant part of duty and devotion." Dr. Horne.

The high degree of veneration in which Mr. Ferrar held the book of Psalms appears from the peculiar attention he bestowed upon it; as hath been particularly related in the foregoing part of these memoirs. Nor is he singular in this respect. Dr. Horne says, the "Psalms are an epitome of the Bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion. That for this purpose they are adorned with figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry, and poetry itself designed yet farther to be recommended by the charms of music, thus consecrated to the service of God; that so, delight may prepare the way for improvement, and pleasure become the handmaid of wisdom, while every turbulent passion is calmed by sacred melody, and the evil spirit still dispossessed by the harp of the son of Jesse." "What is there necessary for man to know, says the pious and judicious Hooker, which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners, an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, and a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others." Hooker. See Dr. Horne's Pref. to his Commentary.

On such respectable authority, I may safely recommend a proper degree of attention to the example of Mr. Ferrar, so far as time, and opportunity, and the peculiar circumstances of situation will admit.]

fearing bad consequences to his health; they told him that he was much too strict in his way of life; they advised him to go abroad, to take the air frequently, and to admit of some innocent amusement. He replied, "that to rise and go to bed when we please, to take the air and get a good appetite, to eat heartily, to drink wine, and cheer the spirits, to hunt, and hawk, to ride abroad, and make visits, to play at cards and dice, these are what the world terms gallant and pleasant things, and recreations fit for a gentleman: but such a life would be so great a slavery to me, and withal I think it of so dangerous a tendency, that if I was told I must either live in that manner, or presently suffer death, the latter would most certainly be my choice."

There cannot be any doubt but that these austerities gradually reduced a constitution originally not very strong, and shortened the life of a most virtuous, and most valuable man.

About three months before his death, perceiving in himself some inward faintness, and apprehending that his last hour was now drawing very near, he broke off abruptly from writing any farther on a subject which was now under his consideration. *This breaking off is yet to be seen in that unfinished treatise, with his reason for discontinuing it.* He then began to write down *Contemplations on Death* in the following words:

"The remembrance of death is very powerful to restrain us from sinning. For he who shall well consider that the day will come (and he knoweth not how soon) when he shall be laid on a sick bed, weak and faint, without ease and almost without strength, encompassed with melancholy thoughts, and overwhelmed with anguish; when on one side, his distemper encreasing upon him, the physician tells

tells him that he is past all hope of life, and on the other, his friends urge him to dispose of his worldly goods, and share his wealth among them: that wealth which he procured with trouble, and preserved with anxiety: that wealth which he now parts from with sorrow: when again the priest calls on him to take the preparatory measures for his departure: when he himself now begins to be assured that here he hath no abiding city: that this is no longer a world for him: that no more suns will rise and set upon him: that for him there will be no more seeing, no more hearing, no more speaking, no more touching, no more tasting, no more fancying, no more understanding, no more remembering, no more desiring, no more loving, no more delights of any sort to be enjoyed by him; but that death will at one stroke deprive him of all these things: that he will speedily be carried out of the house which he had called his own, and is now become another's: that he will be put into a cold, narrow grave: that earth will be consigned to earth, ashes to ashes, and dust to dust: let any man duly and daily ponder these things, and how can it be that he should dare"——

Here the strength of this good man failed him, and his essay is left thus unfinished.

On the second of November he found that his weakness increased, yet he went to church, and on that day officiated for the last time. After this, his faintness continued gradually to increase, but he suffered not the least degree of bodily pain. He conversed with his family, and earnestly encouraged them to persevere in the way he had pointed out to them. And addressing himself particularly to his brother, said, "My dear brother, I must now shortly appear before God, and give an account of what I have taught this family. And

here with a safe conscience I can say, that I have delivered nothing to you but what I thought agreeable to his word: therefore abide steadily by what I have taught. Worship God in spirit and in truth. I will use no more words. One thing however I must add, that you may be both forewarned, and prepared. Sad times[2] are coming on, very sad times indeed; you will live to see them. Then grasping his brother's hand, he said, Oh! my brother! I pity you, who must see these dreadful alterations. And when you shall see the true worship of God brought to nought, and suppressed, then look, and fear that desolation is nigh at hand. And in this great trial may God of his infinite mercy support and deliver you."

The third day before his death he summoned all his family round him, and then desired his brother to go and mark out a place for his grave according to the particular directions he then gave. When his brother returned, saying it was done as he desired, he requested them all in presence of each other to take out of his study three large hampers full of books, which had been there locked up many years. "They are comedies, tragedies, heroic

[2] *Sad times.*] "When some farmers near the place where Master Ferrar lived, somewhat before these times, desired longer leases to be made them, he intimated, that seven years would be long enough. Troublous times were coming; they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long, in peace." Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert. "When these sad times were come, religion and loyalty were such eye sores, that all the Ferrars fled away, and dispersed, *and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods.* All that they had restored to the Church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, was seized upon as a lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons." Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams. part 2. p. 53.

poems,

poems, and romances; let them be immediately burnt upon the place marked out for my grave: and when you shall have so done, come back and inform me." When information was brought him that they were all consumed, he desired that this act might be considered as the testimony of his disapprobation of all such productions, as tending to corrupt the mind of man, and improper for the perusal of every good and sincere christian.

On the first of December, 1637, he found himself declining very fast, and desired to receive the sacrament: after which, and taking a most affectionate farewell of all his family, without a struggle, or a groan, he expired in a rapturous ecstacy of devotion.

Thus lived, and thus died Nicholas Ferrar, the best of sons, of brothers, and of friends, on Monday, Dec. 2, 1637, precisely as the clock struck one: the hour at which for many years he constantly rose to pay his addresses to heaven.

That he was eminently pious towards God, benevolent towards man, and perfectly sincere in all his dealings; that he was industrious beyond his strength, and indefatigable in what he thought his duty: that he was blessed by Providence with uncommon abilities; and by unremitted exertion of his various talents attained many valuable accomplishments, is very manifest from the preceding memoirs, and is the least that can be said in his praise: and though greatly to his honour, is yet no more than that degree of excellence which may have been attained by many. But the spiritual exaltation of mind by which he rose above all earthly considerations of advantage, and devoted himself entirely to God, whom in the strictest sense he loved with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength, being united to the active virtues

tues of a citizen of the world, gives him a peculiar pre-eminence even among those who excel in virtue. For though he practised self-denial to the utmost, and exercised religious severities upon himself scarce inferior to those of the recluses who retired to deserts, and shut themselves up in dens and caves of the earth, yet he did not, like them, by a solitary and morose retirement, deprive himself of the power continually to do good, but led a life of active virtue and benevolence. His youth was spent in an incessant application to learned studies, and the time of his travel was given to the acquisition of universal wisdom. On his return home, in conducting the affairs of an important establishment, he displayed uncommon abilities, integrity and spirit. As a member of the house of commons he gained distinguished honour, and was appointed the principal manager to prosecute, and bring to justice the great man, and corrupt minister of that time. And having thus discharged the duties of a virtuous citizen, he devoted the rest of his life to the instruction of youth, to works of christian charity, and to the worship of God in a religious retirement, while he was yet in possession of his health and strength, and in the prime of manhood. That like the great author, who was his daily and nightly study and admiration, the royal Psalmist, he might not sacrifice to God, that which cost him nothing. In one word, he was a rare example of that excellence in which are blended all the brilliant qualities of the great man, with all the amiable virtues of the good.

AS

AS a sequel to the preceding memoirs, I will subjoin a short account of Mr. Nich. Ferrar, jun. as being proper, if not necessary, to clear up some difficulties concerning the works of these two extraordinary persons, who were blessed with a similarity of genius, and possessed uncommon accomplishments in learning and virtue.

Nicholas Ferrar jun. was the son of John Ferrar, esq; (elder brother to the sen. Nicholas) and Bathsheba, daughter of Mr. Israel Owen of London. He was born in the year 1620. By a picture of him in the editor's possession, taken when he might be something more than a year old, he appears to have been a robust, and healthy child. When he became capable of instruction his uncle took him under his own immediate care, and finding in him a quickness of parts, and a turn of disposition congenial to his own, he instructed, and assisted him in the same course of studies which he himself had pursued in the early part of his life.

In these he made such a rapid proficiency, as was the astonishment of all who knew him, and, could it not be proved by sufficient testimony, might occasion a great difficulty of belief.

It cannot be expected that the life of a young man, who scarce ever went from the sequestered place of his education, and died when he was but little more than twenty years of age, should abound with incidents; but if the term of existence were to be measured by virtue and knowledge, few would be found who have lived so long.

This extraordinary youth was dearly beloved of his uncle, who spared no diligence or expence in his education: providing able tutors both in the sciences and in languages, and bestowing great part

part of his own time in his instruction. He too, like his uncle, with uncommon quickness of parts, and extraordinary strength of memory, possessed an equal ardour for improvement, and an indefatigable spirit of application.

He also was the constant attendant of his uncle in his religious exercises, and particularly in the nightly watches, and acts of devotion. And it is to be feared that these (may I say?) too severe exertions might in some degree tend to shorten the term of life.

He was but seventeen at the death of his uncle, and he survived him but four years. He died May 19, 1640, in his twenty-first year.

The first work in which young N. Ferrar appears to have been employed by his uncle was the translation of Mynsinger's Devotions; a volume containing a very large collection of prayers for all sorts and conditions of men. N. Ferrar, sen. commended this book of Occasional Devotions as the best he had ever seen upon the subject, and said that it could not but do much good in the world. This the nephew performed when he was about fourteen years of age. His greater works, as they are arranged in the original MS. stand as follows: and I give them in the very words of the MS. without correction of some little inaccuracies in the account, which it is hoped will meet with pardon[3],

SIR,

[3] *With pardon.*] In the room of what follows in Dr. Peckard's Life, from the conclusion of this paragraph, (from p. 260 to p. 278) the reader is here presented with a much more complete, and extremely interesting account, transcribed, by the permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, from a MS. (No. 251) in the Lambeth library. These papers appear

SIR,

Upon your request, and bound by the great obligation of your worth, I have thus scribbled out, what here follows; rather willing to shame myself in this kind, than not to fulfil your desires. Such as it is, you will please to accept, from

Sir,

Your much obliged in all love and service,

J. F.

1. FIRST WORK.

Glory be to God on High.

The actions, doctrines, and other passages touching our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists, reduced into one complete body of history; wherein that which is severally related by them, is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all, or any of them, is first expressed in their own words, by way of comparison; secondly, brought into one narration, by way of composition; thirdly, extracted into one clear context, by way of collection: yet so as whatsoever was omitted in the context, is inserted by way of supplement in another print, and in such a manner as all the Four Evangelists may easily be read severally, and distinctly,

appear to have been written by Mr. John Ferrar, the father of the extraordinary young man to whom they refer, the eldest brother of Nicholas Ferrar, sen. and the compiler of the original MS. from which Dr. Peckard's Memoirs of the elder Nicholas are taken. They were written probably in the year 1653, but to whom they are addressed, it does not appear.

each

each a-part and alone, from first to last[4]. Done at Little Gidding, anno 1630.

In each page throughout the whole book were sundry exquisite pictures added, expressing either the facts themselves, or other types and figures, or matters appertaining thereunto, much to the pleasure of the eye, and delight to the reader.

2. Second Work.

The History of the Israelites, from the death of king Saul, to the carrying away captive into Babylon: collected out of the books of Kings and Chronicles, in the words of the texts themselves, without any alteration of importance by addition to them, or diminution from them: whereby, *first*, all the actions and passages, which are in either of the books of Kings or Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration; *secondly*, they are digested into an orderly dependancy one upon the other; *thirdly*, many difficult places are cleared: and many seeming differences between the books of Kings and Chronicles compounded: and all this so contrived, as notwithstanding these mutual compositions of the books of Kings and Chronicles in this histo-

[4] *First to last.*] From a copy of this Harmony Dr. Peckard produces (p. 274) the following memorandum.

"This book was presented by my great-grandmother, by my honoured mother's two sisters (the daughters of John and Susanna Collet), and by their uncle Nicholas Ferrar, who was my godfather, to my ever honoured mother Susanna Mapletoft, the same year in which I was born (1631). And I desire my son, to whom I do give it, with the Great Concordance, and other story books, that it may be preserved in the family as long as may be.

John Mapletoft. Jan. 23. 1715."

rical

rical collection, yet the form of each of them is preserved intire, in such a manner as they may easily be read severally and distinctly, from first to last. Also there are three sundry kinds of tables: the *first* summarily declaring the several heads and and chapters, into which this historical collection is divided; the *second* specifying what passages are related in the aforesaid books of Kings and Chronicles, and what are jointly related by them both, as also in what heads and chapters in the collection they may be found; the *third* shewing where every chapter of the texts themselves, and every part of them may be very readily found in this collection.

N. There is an intention, and preparation making (if the times permit) to make a second piece in this kind: but to illustrate it in a more pleasant and profitable way, and manner, than this first work was done. The good Lord say Amen to it!

3. Third Work.

MONOTEΣΣΑΡΟΝ.

The actions, doctrines and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists; harmonically, symmetrically, and collaterally placed, in four languages, English, Latin, French, Italian, reduced into one complete body of history; wherein that which is severally related by them, is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all or any of them, is *first* extracted into one narration, by way of composition; *secondly*, brought into one clear context, by the way of collection: to which are, in all the pages of the book, added sundry of the best pictures that could be gotten, expressing the

the facts themselves, or their types, figures, or other matters appertaining thereunto; done at Little Gidding anno 1640.

4. Fourth Work.

The Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the holy Evangelists, in eight several languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, High Dutch, Saxon and Welsh, all interpreted with Latin or English, word for word, interlineally placed, and at one view to be seen and read; so done and contrived for the use and benefit of all such as are desirous with sureness, ease, speed and pleasure, to attain to the knowledge of these languages: likewise it may be of very good help to strangers that may desire to learn the English tongue.

5. Fifth Work.

Novum Testamentum Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi viginti quatuor linguis expressum, vid.

1. Hebraice.
2. Græce.
3. Syriace.
4. Arabice.
5. Æthiopice.
6. Latine.
7. Anglo-Saxonice.
8. Muscovitice.
9. Cambro-Britannice.
10. Belgice.
11. Suedice.
12. Hibernice.
13. Germanice.
14. Polonice.
15. Danice.
16. Bohemice.
17. Hungarice.
18. Anglice.
19. Gallice.
20. Italice.
21. Hispanice.
22. Cantabrice.
23. Lusitanice.
24. Sclavonice.

Unaquæque

Unaquæque lingua proprio suo charactere scripta, et omnes Harmonice et Symmetrice collocatæ, etiamque Syriaca literis et vocalibus Hebraicis scripta, cum interlineari Latina interpretatione insuper adjecta.

6. Sixth Work.

Sacrosanctum S. Johannis Evangelium in totidem linguis quot sunt capita, vid.

Caput.	Caput.
1. Æthiopice.	12. Germanice.
2. Græcè.	13. Hungarice.
3. Syriace.	14. Gallice.
4. Arabice.	15. Italice.
5. Latine.	16. Hispanice.
6. Saxonice.	17. Suedice.
7. Hebraice.	18. Danice.
8. Anglice.	19. Polonice.
9. Cambro-Britannice.	20. Belgice.
10. Bohemice.	21. Hibernice et Muscovitice.
11. Cantabrice.	

Et unaquæque lingua per interlinearem Latinam interpretationem ad verbum redditam et positam, explicata.

Some

Some Observations that happened upon these forenamed Works, done at Gidding, and the acceptation of them by the King and Prince.

1. Upon the first Work.

His sacred majesty, anno 1631, having heard of some rare contrivements, as he was pleased to term them, of books done at little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, in an unusual way and manner, for their own private uses and employments; and that the younger sort learned them without book, and hourly made repetition of some part of them, that so both their hands and minds might be partakers in what was good and useful: it so happened that being at Apthorpe at the earl of Westmoreland's house, in his progress, about seven miles off Gidding; he sent a gentleman of his court, well loved of him, to Gidding; who came and declared, that the king his master desired that there might be sent by him A BOOK, but he knew not the name of it, that was made at Gidding, and somewhat of it every hour repeated by them. The tidings were much unexpected, and Nicholas Ferrar at London. Leave was craved, that the deferring of the sending of it might be respited one week, and the king might be informed, that the book was wholly unfitting every way for a king's eye: and those that had given him any notice of such a thing had much misinformed his majesty; and when he should see it, he would con them no thanks[5], the book

[5] *He would con them no thanks.*] So, "Frend Hoggarde, *I cun you thanke*, that you have learned somewhat at Father Latimer's Sermons." Robert Crowley's *Confutation of the Aunswer to the Ballad called "The Abuse of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altare."* Signat. A 3. b. A. D. 1548.

being made only for the young people in the family. But all excuses would not satisfy this gentleman. He said if we enforced him to go without it, he knew he should be again sent for it that night; and no Nays he would have. So necessity enforced the delivery; and the gentleman seemed greatly contented; took the book, saying not his man, but himself would carry it: he knew it would be an acceptable service to his master; and engaged his faith, that at the king's departure from Apthorpe, he would bring it again. But a quarter of a year past. Then came the gentleman again; but brought no book; but after much compliment said, the king so liked the work itself, and the contrivement of it in all kinds, that there had not a day passed, but the king, in the midst of all his progress and sports, spent one hour in the perusing of it: and that would apparently be seen by the notations he had made upon the margins of it with his own hand: and that his master would not upon no terms part with it, except he brought him a promise from the family, that they would make him one for his daily use, which he should esteem as a rich jewel. Some months after the gentleman, acquainting the king what he had done in obedience to his command, brought back the book from London to Gidding; saying, that upon the condition that within the space of twelve months the king might have one made him, he was to render back that again; and so with many courtly terms he departed, with intimation from Nicholas Ferrar, that his majesty's commands should be obeyed.

The book being opened, there was found, as the gentleman had said, the king's notes in many places in the margin; which testified the king's diligent perusal of it. And in one place, which is not to be forgotten, to the eternal memory of his majesty's superlative

superlative humility (no small virtue in a king), having written something in one place, he puts it out again very neatly with his pen. But that, it seems, not contenting him, he vouchsafes to underwrite, "*I confess my error: it was well before.*" (an example to all his subjects) "*I was mistaken.*"

Before the year came about, such diligence and expedition was used, that a book was presented to his majesty, being bound in crimson velvet, and richly gilded upon the velvet, a thing not usual. The king gratiously with a cheerful countenance received it: and after a curious perusal, after having asked many questions concerning the work, and the parties that had done it; said to the lord's grace of Canterbury, and divers other lords that stood about him, (doctor Cosin being also there, that was his chaplain for that month), "Truly my lords, I prize this as a rare and rich jewel, and worth a king's acceptance. The substance of it is of the best alloy in the world, and ought to be the only desirable book. And for the skill, care, cost used in it, there is no defect, but a superlative diligence in all about it. I very much thank them all: and it shall be my *Vade mecum.* How happy a king were I, if I had many more such workmen and women in my kingdom! God's blessing on their hearts, and painful hands! I know they will receive no reward for it." Then he gave the book to the lords to peruse, saying, there are fine pictures in it. The lords said, they believed the like book was not in the world to be seen. It was a precious gem, and worthy of his cabinet.

Then said the king to my lord of Canterbury, and to doctor Cosin, "What think you? Will not these good people be willing that I put them to a further trouble? I find their ability and art is excellent: and why should I doubt of their condescension

scension to my desire?" "Your majesty need not," replied the archbishop; and doctor Cosin seconded him. "We know they will fulfill your commands in all things in their powers." "Well," said the king, "let me tell you. I often read the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is befitting a king: but in many things, I find some seeming contradictions; and one book saith more, and the other less, in many circumstances, the latter being a supply to the former. Now I seeing this judicious and well-contrived book of the Four Evangelists, I gladly would have these skilful persons to make me another book that might so be ordered, that I might read these stories of Kings and Chronicles so interwoven by them, as if one pen had written the whole books; and to make it a complete history altogether: yet so again ordering the matter, that I may also read them severally and apart, if I would. I have often spoken to many of my chaplains about this thing; but they have excused themselves (from it) as a difficult work, and (they) not skilful in that way." "Let your majesty rest contented, and doubt not, but with the best expedition that can be, the thing shall be done as you intimate. Doctor Cosins shall acquaint them speedily with your majesty's pleasure."

So intimation was given them at Gidding of this thing: and they with all care and diligence instantly set about it. And thus was this second work, (as you see in the insuing title), begun and finished in a year's time. And what happened in the presenting and acceptation of it, you shall find by the insuing discourse that follows upon it.

THE SECOND WORK *done at Little Gidding, whereof the title is as you see, was in the time of twelve months finished; and the proceedings that happened thereupon, here insueth.*

The king's most excellent majesty having in the interim often demanded when the book would be done, saying the time seemed long unto him till he saw it:

It being now sent up to London, my lord of Canterbury understanding so much by Dr. Cosins and one Mr. Ramsey, that had married one of the daughters of the family, he being a minister, desired it might be brought such a day to court. My lord took it, and perused it, and to admiration beheld it, saying, "Here is a master-piece indeed in all kinds, inside and outside, all performed by those judicious heads, and active hands of Little Gidding. Sure these, and the like works they intend, deserve to make it alter its name from *Parva* to *Magna*. Come, said he, let us go to the king, who, I am sure, will bid us welcome for this royal present."

At their coming into the room where the king was, he seeing my lord of Canterbury to have a stately great book in his two hands, presently rose out of his chair where he was sitting, many lords then standing round about him: "What," said he, "shall I now enjoy that rich jewel I have thus long desired? Have you my lord, brought me my book?" "Yea sir," replied the bishop of Canterbury." "Give it me; give it me," said the king. "Your expectations, sir, said he, are not only performed, but out of doubt many ways surpassed. For my own part, I wonder at the work, and all the parts of it." "Let me have it;" said the king

king. So smiling he took it, and carried it to the table.

Then first seriously viewing the outside of the book, being bound curiously in purple velvet, and that also most artificially gilt upon the velvet in an extraordinary manner, he said, "My lords, the outside thus glorious, what think you will be the inside, and matter of it?" Then untying the stately string, he opening it read the frontispiece and contents of the book: then turning to my lord of Canterbury, he said, "You have given me a right character of the work: truly it passeth what I could have wished: and what I think none but those heads and hands, in my kingdom, can do the like again." And so he began to view it leaf by leaf, and turned it all over very diligently, observing the form and contrivement of it. Then looking upon his lords, that had their eyes also fixed upon it, he said, "My lords, this, this is a jewel in all respects, to be continually worn on a king's breast, and in his heart." And then he shewed them the fair orderly contrivement of the joint books of Kings and Chronicles, thus united together in one history, "as if written," said he, "by one man's pen." And so, many words passed about it, between the lords and the king, they extolling it as an excellent piece. "Well," said the king, "I will not part with this diamond, for all those in my Jewel-house. For it is so delightful to me: and I know the virtues of it will pass all the precious stones in the world. It is a most rare crystall glass, and most useful, and needful, and profitable for me and all kings. It shews and represents to the life, God's exceeding high and rich mercies, to all pious and virtuous kings, and likewise his severe justice to all ill and bad. What then more profitable to us all, or more needfull? It shall, I assure you, be my

companion in the day time: and the sweetest perfumed bags that can lie under my head in the night. Truly I am very much taken with it at all times; but more, it being thus comprised in a full pleasant history. My lord of Canterbury, I now perceive that these good people at Gidding can do more works in this kind, than this. Let them have my hearty thanks returned. I know they look for none, neither will they receive any reward. Yet let them know, as occasion shall be, I will not forget them: and God bless them in their good intentions!" And so after some more talk the lords had of Gidding, the king took up the book, and went away with it in his arms.

Some while after, doctor Cosin gave notice, that the king, the more he perused both books given him, the more he liked them: and had conference with him about the printing of them, that, as he said, "all his people might have the benefit of them." And doctor Cosin told the king, it was a kingly motion, and by his majesty's favour, they should be put out, as at his command, and the latter as done by his directions.

N. It is to be known, that these works were so done as if they had been printed the ordinary way; as most that saw them did think so. But it was in another kind done; though all was printed indeed, and not written, as some may conceive at the reading of the titles of the books.

THE THIRD WORK was occasioned and effected upon a letter sent to Gidding from a person of honour,

honour, that the prince, having seen the king his father's book, that was first of all presented him of the Concordance of the Four Evangelists, &c. would have fain begged it of the king; but he told him, he might not part with that rich jewel, for he daily made use of it; but if he desired one, he made no question, but the same heart and hands that framed his, would fit him also with one for his use; and hoped he would make good use of it, for it was the book of books, &c.

Upon the intimation given of the prince's desire, though Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, senior, was then with God, yet his young nephew, that bare his name, whom his uncle entirely loved, (not permitting him to be any where brought up but at Gidding, and under his own eye) having seen all the former works done in the house; his beloved kinswomen, that were the handy-work-mistresses of the former, were also most willing to lay to their helping assistances; so the young youth, having attained to the knowledge of many languages (as you shall hear hereafter, being a study that his wise, judicious uncle, Nicholas Ferrar, had put him upon, finding him every way fitted naturally for such knowledge), they laying their heads together, thought a concordance of four several languages would be most useful, and beneficial, and pleasant to the young prince's disposition; and so, in the name of God, after all materials were provided and ready; they uniting their heads and hands lovingly together, setting apart so many hours in the forenoons, and so many in the after-noons, as their other exercises and occasions permitted, constantly met in a long fair spacious room, which they named the Concordance Chamber, wherein were large tables round the sides of the walls, placed for their better conveniency and contrivement of their

works

works of this and the like kind: and therein also were placed two very large and great presses, which were turned with iron bars, for the effecting of their designs.

And now we are in the Concordance room, (which was all coloured over with green pleasant colour varnished, for the more pleasure to their eyes, and a chimney in it for more warmth, as occasion served), let me here relate, that each person of the family, and some other good friends of their kindred, gave each their sentence, which should be written round the upper part of the walls of the room; that so when they entered the chamber, or at any time looked up from the walls, these sentences presented themselves to their eyes.—As you entered in at the door into the room, over your head at that end was written that sentence of scripture, that their uncle, of blessed memory, did frequently use upon several occasions.

At the upper end was written high upon the wall—

"*Glory be to God on High,*
Peace on Earth, Good will toward Men."

"*Prosper thou, O Lord, the work of our hands.*
O prosper thou our handy works."

And under it, (on each side of that upper window), on the one side was written:

"*Thou art too delicate, O Brother, if thou desirest to reign both here with the world, and hereafter to reign with Christ in Heaven.*"

And on the other side of the window;

"*Innocency is never better lodged than at the Sign of Labour.*"

And then on both sides of the walls there are written,

"*Love*

"*Love not sleep, least thou come to poverty. Open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread.*"

"*He that spendeth his time—*"

"*Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings.*"

"*The industrious man hath no leisure to sin; and the idle man hath no power to avoid sin.*"

THIS THIRD WORK thus finished, it was upon consultation thought fitting, that it should not go single and alone, but to stay awhile till Nicholas Ferrar, junior, had finished and ordered four other pieces of works, being businesses of many and several languages, and the titles of them are those four succeeding frontispieces, that follow one after the other, as you have seen: the Four Evangelists, in such and such languages as is there described, written by his own hand, and so composed by his head and industry.

All these five pieces, that one for the prince, and four for the king, being all made ready, they were carried up to London; but in the way they went by Cambridge, and there were shewed to some eminent persons, a bishop then present there, and other learned scholars (and before that time, also to the bishop of Peterborough, and other doctors, that there had sight of them). All these learned men gave their approbation to the works, and no small commendation, as well as admiration, that they were so contrived and ordered, for substance and form, by one of those tender years.

Nicholas Ferrar coming to London, as he had directions, addressed himself to my lord of Canterbury,

terbury, from him to receive orders how to proceed. Who when he saw the young man, and was informed of his errand, by those that conducted him to his presence, the young man kneeling down, craving his blessing, and kissing his hand, my lord embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some salutes, he desired a sight of the books; which when he had well seen and perused, he very highly commended them in every particular, and said, "These truely are jewels only for princes: and your printed one will greatly take the prince, to whom I perceive you intend it. So will the other four pieces be no less acceptable to the king himself; and so all things, the form, the matter, the writing, will make the king admire them, I know. And," said he, "but that my eyes see the things, I should hardly have given credit to my ears, from any relation made of them by another. But, said he, I now find, great is education, when it meets with answerable ability, and had his directions from so eminent a man, as that counsellor was, that gave the hints and rise to all these contrivements before his death." And after much discourse he gave Nicholas Ferrar leave to depart. And gave directions that next day in the afternoon, being Maundy Thursday, Nicholas Ferrar should be in such a room at White Hall.

The bishop came at the time he had appointed to that room, where he found Nicholas Ferrar and others waiting his leisure. And they perceived he came out of another room where the king then was. "Come," said he, "in God's name, follow me, where I go;" and led them into a room, where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. When the king saw the archbishop enter the room, he said, "What, have you brought with you those rarities and jewels you told

told me of?" "Yea, Sirs," replied the bishop, "here is the young gentleman, and his works." So the bishop taking him by the hand, led him up to the king. He falling down on his knees, the king gave him his hand to kiss, bidding him rise up. The box was opened; and Nicholas Ferrar first presented to the king that book made for the prince: who taking it from him, looking well on the outside, which was all green velvet, stately and richly gilt all over, with great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound, said, "Here is a fine book for Charles indeed! I hope it will soon make him in love with what is within it: for I know it is good." So opening it, and with much pleasure perusing it, he said merrily to the lords, "What think you of it? For my part, I like it in all respects exceeding well; and find Charles will here have a double benefit by the well contrivement of it, not only obtain by the daily reading in it a full information of our blessed Saviour's life, doctrine, and actions, (the chief foundation of Christian religion;) but the knowledge of four languages. A couple of better things a prince cannot desire; nor the world recommend unto him. And lo! here are also store of rare pictures to delight his eye with."

Then Nicholas Ferrar, the king looking upon him, bowing himself to the ground, said, "May it please your sacred majesty, this work was undertaken upon the prince's command. But I dared not present it to him, till it had your majesty's approbation and allowance." "Why so?" said the king; "It is an excellent thing for him, and will do him much good." "Sir," said Nicholas Ferrar, "my learned and religious wise uncle, under whose wings I was covered, and had my education from my youth, gave me amongst other rules, this one;

one: that I should never give any thing, though never so good or fitting, to any person whatever, that had a superior over him, without his consent and approbation first obtained: as nothing to a son, to a wife, to a servant: for he said it was not seemly nor comely so to do. Whereupon, Sir, I have by the favour of my lord of Canterbury's grace, come to present this piece unto your majesty's view, and to beg your good leave to carry it to the prince." The king with attention heard all, and turning him to the lords, said, "You all hear this wise counsel, and you all see the practice of it. I do assure you, it doth wonderfully please me. I like the rule well: and it is worthy of all our practice. And now you see we all have gained by the sight of this rich jewel a third good thing." Then turning him to the lord of Canterbury, he said, "Let this young gentleman have your letters to the prince to-morrow, to Richmond, and let him carry this present. It is a good day you know, and a good work would be done upon it." So he gave Nicholas Ferrar the book: who carrying it to the box, took out of it a very large paper book, which was the FOURTH WORK, and laid it on the table before the king. "For whom," said the king, "is this model?" "For your majesty's eyes, if you please to honour it so much." "And that I will gladly do," said the king, "and never be weary of such sights, as I know you will offer unto me."

The king having well perused the title page, beginning, "*The Gospel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight several languages, &c.*" said unto the lords, "You all see, that one good thing produceth another. Here we have more and more rarities, from print now to pen. These are fair hands well-written, and as well composed."

Then

Then replied the lord of Canterbury, "when your majesty hath seen all, you will have more and more cause to admire." "What!" said the king, "is it possible we shall behold yet more rarities?" "Then," said the bishop to Nicholas Ferrar, "reach the other piece that is in the box:" and this we call the FIFTH WORK, the title being *Novum Testamentum &c in viginti quatuor linguis, &c.* The king opening the book said, "Better and better. This is the largest and fairest paper that ever I saw." Then, reading the title page, he said, "What is this? What have we here? The incomparablest book this will be, as ever eye beheld. My lords, come, look well upon it. This finished must be the emperor of all books. It is the crown of all works. It is an admirable masterpiece. The world cannot match it. I believe you are all of my opinion." The lords all seconded the king, and each spake his mind of it. "I observe two things amongst others," said the king, "very remarkable, if not admirable. The first is, how it is possible, that a young man of twenty-one years of age," (for he had asked the lord of Canterbury before, how old Nicholas Ferrar was) "should ever attain to the understanding and knowledge of more languages, than he is of years; and to have the courage to venture upon such an Atlas work, or Hercules labour. The other is also of high commendation, to see him write so many several languages, so well as these are, each in its proper character. Sure so few years had been well spent, some men might think, to have attained only to the writing thus fairly of these twenty-four languages." All the lords replied, his majesty had judged right; and said, except they had seen, as they did, the young gentleman there, and the book itself, all the world should not have persuaded

them to the belief of it. And so much discourse passed upon the business to and fro, and many questions demanded and answered, here too long to repeat.

"Well," said the king to my lord of Canterbury, "there is one thing yet that I would be fully satisfied in, and see the proof and real demonstration of it, over and above what I have yet seen. I do really believe and know, that these persons here would not present this unto me, or any thing else, that were not full of truth. I say, I no way doubt of all I have seen: yet if I may be resolved in one question, that I shall demand, it will wonderfully please me. The thing, my lord, is this. Let me, if it be possible, have more than his affirmation, by word and pen thus shewed me, that he understands all these several languages, and can English them, word for word, properly. I know yourself, my lord, and many other men in my court can try and prove him in many of them: but where shall I find men to try and pose him in all the others, that are so unusual and scarce known?" My lord of Canterbury, being somewhat at a stand, replied, "Sir, you need not be so scrupulous, but be confident that he can and doth understand all of them:" and then looking upon Nicholas Ferrar, to see what he could say for himself in this kind; who all the while stood silent attending the end and upshot of the king's demands; then bowing himself to the ground at his majesty's feet, he spake in this manner and effect. "May it please your sacred majesty, the difficulty you in your great wisdom have propounded so judiciously, to have a present proof given you, that I understand all these several twenty-four languages, and can translate them into English or Latin, is that which I conceived your majesty would put me upon, when you should

should see that which you have done; and to that intent I now brought with me, what will and may fully satisfy your majesty, as it was my part to do, and to prepare for it in that kind, as you require." "Let us then now see it," said the king. Now you are to know that this proof book Nicholas Ferrar had of purpose concealed it, from my lord of Canterbury, not shewing it him, when he at first saw the rest of them. So Nicholas Ferrar presently stepped to the box, it being covered under papers at the bottom of it, and came and gave it into the king's hands. The king opening it, and smiling, reading the title page of it, which was this, *Sacrosanctum Sancti Johannis Evangelium, in totidem Linguis quot sunt Capita, &c.* "I now see I shall be fully contented;" and so turning the book all over, leaf by leaf, and perusing it, seeing each chapter interpreted in each language, word for word with English or Latin, he called my lord of Canterbury to the table, who all this while stood somewhat in doubt, what this proof would be; "Lo! here is an ample proof and manifestation, wittily contrived; and I am fully satisfied in all things. He could never have done this, but that he is a master of them all. And I am the more glad I raised the doubt; but much more that he hath thus undeniably made a full proof of his rare abilities in every kind. What say you to it, my lord?" Who replied, it was far beyond what he should have thought of; and was right glad to see it. So many questions were asked and answered to the king's good liking. The king turning to the rest of the lords, who also took the book and were admiring at it, and spake of it in no small way of commendation, said, "We have spent part of our Maundy Thursday to good purpose, have we not my lords, think you?" They all replied,

plied, they had seen those good things and rarities, that they never did before, nor should see the like they believed again for the future. "It is very rightly said," said the king. So looking upon Nicholas Ferrar he willed him, that he should go the next morning to Richmond, and carry the prince the book made for him. "And after the holiday," said he, "return to my lord of Canterbury; and then you shall know my good approbation of yourself and all you have done: and he shall signify to you my will and pleasure, what I will have you to do, and where you are to go."

So dismissing him with a chearful royal look, the king said to my lord of Canterbury, "Alas! what pity is it, that this youth hath not his speech, altogether so ready as his pen, and great understanding is." For the king had observed, that sometimes at the first bringing out his words, he would make a small pause; but once having begun, he spake readily and roundly, as other men did. "Sir," said my lord of Canterbury, "I conceive that small impediment in his tongue hath been very happy for him." "How can you, my lord, make that good?" "Sir," said he, "out of doubt, the small defect in that one tongue hath gained, by the directions of that learned and wise uncle of his, that directed him to the study of all these languages, (as finding his great abilities of wit, memory, and industry), the attaining of them, and producing these and the like rare works, that you see, done by him to admiration. So oftentimes God, in his great wisdom and love, turns those things, we account our prejudice, to our greatest happiness, if with pleasure and chearfulness we undergo them, and to his own further glory. So that neither he nor his parents have cause to grieve at that small defect he hath in his

one

one tongue, that by it hath gained so many more, that make him more eminent, than that one could have done. For certainly, Sir, so many other abilities that are united in the young man, had taken and put him upon some other studies, than this of languages, if this small imperfection had not accompanied it: and instead of one mother tongue, he hath gained twenty-four; a full recompence I take it to be." "Well," said the king, "you have somewhat to the purpose, my lord." Then said my lord of Holland, "He should do well to carry always in his mouth some small pebble stones, that would (help) him much." "Nay, nay," said the king, "I have tried that, but it helps not. I will tell him the best and surest way is to take good deliberation at first, and not to be too sudden in speech. And let him also learn to sing, that will do well." Then said one of the lords to Nicholas Ferrar, "Do you not learn to sing, and music also?" He replied, he did. So humble reverence done, Nicholas Ferrar going away, my lord of Canterbury stepped to Nicholas Ferrar and told him, he must not fail to come to Lambeth, and call for his letter in the morning, for bishop Duppa, the prince's tutor.

This was done next morning; and so in a coach with four horses, Nicholas Ferrar went to Richmond, with some other company of his friends. Coming to Richmond, the bishop's secretary acquainted his lord, of a letter sent to him by the lord of Canterbury. The bishop was then with the prince, who coming from him, Nicholas Ferrar delivered him the letter. The contents read, he imbraced Nicholas Ferrar, who kneeled down to crave his blessing, and kiss his hands. Nicholas Ferrar was called for to come in to the prince, who gave him his hand to kiss. He presented the book unto

him.

him. The prince hastily opened it, saying, "Here's a gallant outside:" gave it then to the bishop: he read the title page and frontis-piece. Then the prince took it, and turning it all over, leaf by leaf, said, "Better and better." The courtiers that stood about him, demanded how he liked that rare piece. "Well, well, very," said he. "It pleaseth me exceedingly; and I wish daily to read in it." So many questions were asked and answered. And the little duke of York, having also seen the book, and fine pictures in it, came to Nicholas Ferrar, and said unto him, "Will you not make me also such another fine book? I pray you do it." Nicholas Ferrar replied, his grace should not fail to have one made for him also. But said the duke, "How long will it be before I have it?" "With all good speed," said Nicholas Ferrar. "But how long time will that be? I pray tell the gentle-women at Gidding, I will heartily thank them, if they will dispatch it." (For he had heard Nicholas Ferrar tell the prince, who questioned with him, who bound the book so finely, and made it so neatly and stately, and had laid on all the pictures so curiously; that it was done by the art and hands of his kins-women at Gidding.) All the courtiers standing by, heartily laughed to see the duke's earnestness, who would have no nay; but a promise speedily to have one made for him [6], like his brother's. The prince at last went to dinner, expressing much joy at his book.

The bishop took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and with great demonstration of favour led him

[6] *One made for him.*] In the margin it is added, "The book which was made and printed for the duke never had opportunity to be presented to his grace. It is yet still at Gidding."

into

into a room, where divers young lords were, the duke of Buckingham and others, who sitting down to dinner, the bishop placed Nicholas Ferrar by the table at his side. The bishop demanded many questions at table concerning Gidding, to which he received satisfaction; saying, my lord of Canterbury's letters had informed him, of what had passed before the king at White Hall; and of the rare pieces which were shewed the king, whereof he said he hoped one day to have the happiness to see them; and said, "This present given the prince was very acceptable, and he made no question but the prince would receive not only much pleasure in it, but great good by it in every kind."

After dinner ended, and other courtiers come to talk with Nicholas Ferrar, the bishop departed the room, and not long after came in again; took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and carried him into a room, where the prince was, the duke, and divers court ladies looking upon the book. The bishop after a while told the prince what books were presented to the king his father, at White Hall. The prince demanded to see them also: but the bishop said they were left there. "Ah," said he, "I would you had brought them, that I might also have seen those rare things." So after many questions demanded and answered, it growing late, Nicholas Ferrar craved leave to depart; and humbly bowing himself to the prince, the prince rose up, and came towards him, and moving his hat, the bishop standing by him, said, "I am much beholden to you, for the jewel you have given me, and for the contrivement of it; and to the Gidding gentlewomen, that have taken so much pains about it, to make it so curious a piece." Then putting his hand into his pocket, he pulled out a

 handful

handful of twenty shillings pieces of gold, saying (Nicholas Ferrar stepping back), "Nay, I do not give you this as any reward in recompence of your book, for I esteem it every way above much gold; and prize it at a far greater rate. Only you shall take this as a present testimony of my acceptance of it, and my esteem of you. I shall study how I may in the future let all know how much I deem of your worth, and the book:" and so gave him his handful of gold. And so Nicholas Ferrar departing, divers courtiers would needs accompany him to his coach, and the bishop down stairs. And so, with great demonstration of much civility they parted, the bishop willing his secretary to accompany him to the coach.

Saturday morning repair was made to the bishop of Canterbury, to let him know what had passed at Richmond; for so he had given order: who said he much longed to know what entertainment was given to the book, and person. He liked all well that passed, and said he was right glad, that things went as he hoped; and should acquaint the king with all. Then taking Nicholas Ferrar's father aside, he said, "Let your care now cease for your hopeful son, or for his future preferment, or estate, or present maintenance. God hath so inclined the king's heart, and his liking to your son, and the gifts God hath indued him with; and having been informed of his virtuous, pious education, and singular industry and Christian deportment, and of his sober inclination, that he will take him from you into his own protection and care, and make him his scholar and servant; and hath given me order, that after the holidays being past, I should send him to Oxford; and that there he shall be maintained in all things needful for him at the king's proper charge; and shall not (need)

what he can desire, to further him in the prosecution of these works he hath begun in matter of languages: and what help of books, or heads, or hands he shall require, he shall not be unfurnished with; for the king would have this work of the New Testament, in twenty-four languages, to be accomplished by his care and assistance; and to have the help of all the learned men that can be had, to that end. Assure yourself he shall want nothing. In a word the king is greatly in love with him: and you will, and have cause to bless and praise God for such a son." So John Ferrar being ravished with joy, in all humble manner gave thanks to my lord's grace. And they returning to Nicholas Ferrar, my lord embraced him, and gave him his benediction. Nicholas Ferrar kneeling down, took the bishop by the hand, and kissed it. He took him up in his arms, and laid his hand to his cheek, and earnestly besought God Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him every day more and more for an instrument of his glory here upon earth, and a saint in heaven; "which," said he, "is the only happiness that can be desired, and ought to be our chief end in all our actions. God bless you! God bless you! I have told your father, what is to be done for you, after the holidays. God will provide for you, better than your father can:—God bless you! and keep you!" So they parted from his grace.

But he never saw him more; for within a few days after[7], Nicholas Ferrar fell ill: and on Easter day he was desirous, being next morning, (having found himself not well the day before) to receive

[7] *A few days after.*] "Easter-Eve." Margin of the manuscript.

the communion at Paul's, whither he went early in the morning, and communicated; and returning home, had little appetite to his dinner, eating little or nothing. He went yet to a sermon in the afternoon; but at night grew somewhat worse. And on Monday morning, his father with all care and diligence went to a learned physician, who came and visited him, and gave him what he thought fitting; but he grew worse and worse. Then was another physician joined to the first. They consulted, and prescribed things for him, but he mended not; but with great patience and chearfulness, did bear his sickness, and was very comfortable in it to all that came to visit him, wholly referring himself to God's good will and pleasure; only telling his friends, and the bishop of Peterborough, doctor Towers, that loved him dearly, and came to visit him twice in that short time, that he was no way troubled to die, and to go to heaven, where he knew was only peace and quiet and joys permanent, whereas all things in the world were but trouble and vexation: and death must be the end of all men; and he that went soonest to heaven, was the most happiest man. The bishop would say, when he went away, and had a long time talked with him, that Nicholas Ferrar was better prepared to die than he, and was a true child of God: and could comfort himself in God, without directions from him, or others: that his pious education under his pious uncle of blessed memory, his old and dear friend, was now shewed forth in these his so young years, that they had taken mighty root downward, and in his soul, and now sprang up with not only leaves and fair blossoms, but with good and ripe fruit of heavenly matters. It joyed his heart to see him so disposed to God-ward, and to so willingly

leave

leave the world, and the late testimonies of worth, that he had received from the best in the land. That sure he was too good longer to stay here. God would take him to heaven; and willed his father to prepare for his departure; and to take it with all thankfulness to God; and not look what himself he might think had here lost on earth, but to that crown which his good son, by the mercies of God, and merits of his Saviour, he was persuaded would soon enjoy in heaven. "He is too good; he is too good," said he, "to live longer in these ill approaching times. For there is much fear now that the glory of church and state is at the highest." For then tumults began: and the bishop of Canterbury's house at Lambeth, was one night assaulted by a rabble of lewd people; which when Nicholas Ferrar was told one morning, as he lay in his sick bed, "Alas! alas!" said he, "God help his church, and poor England! I now fear indeed, what my dear uncle said before he died, is at hand, that evil days were coming, and happy were they that went to heaven before they came. Can or will the insolency of such a rabble be unpunished? It is high time that supreme authority take care of these growing evils. God amend all! Truly, truly, it troubles me." And when at other times some friend would say to him, "Good cousin, are you not grieved to leave this world; you are now so young, and in the flower of your youth and hopes?" He would cheerfully answer, "No, truly; I leave all to God's good will and pleasure, that is my best father, and knoweth what is best for me. Alas! I am too young to be mine own judge, what is best for me, to die or live; but let all be, as God's will is. If I live, I desire it may be to his further glory, and mine own soul's good, and the comfort and service, that I intend to

to be to my father, that loves me so dearly, and in his old age to be his servant. If I die, I hope my father will submit all to God's will and pleasure, and rejoice at my happiness in heaven, where by the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour, I know I shall go out of this wretched life." In this manner, and upon the visits of friends, he would discourse; and the bishop came to him two days before he died, and found him most cheerful to die, and to be with God, as he would say to him; who gave him absolution, and with many tears departed, saying to his father, "God give you consolation; and prepare yourself to part with your good son. He will, in a few hours, I think, go to a better world: for he is no way for this, that I see, by his body and by his soul. Be of good comfort; you give him but again to him, that gave him you for a season." And in two days after, God took him away; who died praying and calling upon God, "Lord Jesus receive my soul! Lord receive it!" Amen.

THIS FOLLOWING EPITAPH will more at large inform the reader concerning Nicholas Ferrar junior, his life and death, briefly thus expressed by a friend of his, Mr. Mark Frank, once fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

Lector,

Lector,
quisquis es
quem { vel sortis humanæ / vel elusæ spei / vel ereptæ virtutis } miseret,
Siste te paulum ad hoc lachrymarum Monumentum,
Sepulchrum Nicolai
generosæ Ferrarorum familiæ Hæredis;
piissimi illius Nicolai,
quem ipse orbis admiratur
tanquam unicum integræ virtutis Domicilium,
Charissimi nepotis:
Londini, si patriam quæris, oriundi,
Geddingæ Parvæ, juxta *Venantodunum*, educati.
Juvenis nimirum
qui, inter privatas illas solitudines,
Stupenda sua indole actus
Ipsum sibi Academiam habuit.
Qui ad vicesimam tertiam Linguam
vix Tutorem habuit, vix indiguit,
vix annos petiit;
Et tamen annorum numerum linguis duabus
superavit:
Ingenio quam annis major.
Cui { Grammatica, Necessitati, / Historia, Otio, / Philosophia, Studio, / Mathematica, Voluptati, / Musica, Pietati, / Theologia, Praxi, } fuit.
Qui
eleganti, admiranda potius industria
in sacris concinnandis Harmoniis
(quibus ne verbum aut superesse
aut deesse Evangelistis ostenditur)
Regi et Aulæ cognitus
Et Doctrinæ simul et Religionis specimen dedit.
Qui { Precibus / Jejuniis / Vigiliis } crebris
Abstinentia perpetua
vel a primo decennio Deo inserviit
Familiæ suæ et exemplum, et solatium pietatis

summæ

summæ erga Parentes obedientiæ
singularis erga amicos amicitiæ
eximiæ erga omnes humanitatis
profusæ erga pauperes benignitatis
Verbis, Veste, Vita, sobrius, modestus, humilimus.
Qui in omnibus { Parentum Vota / Amicorum Spem / Omnium Fidem } longè post se reliquit,
Nec hic stetit;
dum majora adhuc anhelans
nullum Studiis suis statuerat
nisi Universæ Naturæ Terminum.
Sed Natura præpropere terminum posuit
ne deesset tandem velocissimo ingenio
quod evolveret.
Libentissimè hic assensit
ut Mens, nondum fatiata Scientiis
inveniret in Deo quod in terris non potuit.
Inde est
Amicorum dolori, Reipublicæ literariæ damno,
Spei humanæ Confusioni, Gloriæ tamen suæ
quod hinc abiit
vel ad Doctorum vel Virginum Chorum,
Anno
Regis Caroli XVI°.
Ætatis suæ XXI°.
Christi MDCXL.
Die Mai XIX°.

There was found amongst other papers in his study this following; in this manner, that all might be printed in one book together, at one view to be seen, in two pages of the book, as it opened, twenty-five on one side, twenty-five on the other.

Novum

Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi

Testamentum,

Lingua,

1. Hebraica.
2. Syriaca.
3. Arabica.
4. Chaldaica.
5. Æthiopica.
6. Samaritanica.
7. Armenica.
8. Cophtica.
9. Sclavonica.
10. Moscovitica.
11. Græca.
12. Latina.
13. Cambro-Britannica.
14. Hibernica.
15. Monica.
16. Hungarica.
17. Cantabrica.
18. Cauchica.
19. Wallaccica.
20. Rhætica.
21. Islandica.
22. Swedica.
23. Finennica.
24. Livonica.
25. Germanica.
26. Anglica.
27. Saxonica.
28. Italica.
29. Gallica.
30. Hispanica.
31. Belgica.
32. Gothica.
33. Vandalica.
34. Estonica.
35. Prutenica.
36. Jazigica.
37. Illyrica.
38. Epirotica.
39. Persica.
40. Georgiana.
41. Turcica.
42. Tartarica.
43. Jacobitica.
44. Indica orientali.
45. Japonica.
46. Danica.
47. Polonica.
48. Bohemica.
49. Lusatica.
50. Indica occidentali vel America.

This by the help of God I intend to effect; and also to translate the Church Catechism into these languages; so likewise the 117 psalm, "Praise the

the Lord all ye heathens: praise him all ye nations," and present them to the king, that he may print them, and send them to all nations, &c.

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7. Seventh Work.

The whole law of God, as it is delivered in the five books of Moses, methodically distributed into three great classes, moral, ceremonial, political. And each of these again subdivided into several heads as the variety of matter requires; wherein each particular subject dispersedly related in the forenamed books, is reduced to the proper head and place whereunto it belongeth. Containing in all three hundred thirty-three heads: also every head of the political law is reduced to that precept of the moral law, to which it properly belongs: likewise there are sundry treatises, shewing in what, and how, divers of the ceremonial laws were shadows and types of the Messiah that was to come. And also in what Adam, Abel, Noah, Abram, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, David, Solomon and his Temple, Elisha, Job, Daniel, Jonah, the pillar of fire, the Red Sea, the rock, and manna, were all figures of our Lord and blessed Saviour J. Christ.

With an harmony of all the prophets, foretelling the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ that was to come; to confirm the Christian and convince the Jew: together with a discourse of the twelves stones in Aaron's pectoral, their several virtues, &c.

As also an harmonical parallel betweeen the types of the O. Testament, and the four Evanglists' relations

relations concerning our dear Lord and Saviour, respectively prefigured by the holy prophets, and other sacred writers. Moreover there are divers treatises shewing how, and in what manner, times and places, the several promises and threatenings, foretold by Moses, did accordingly befal the Jews: with the fulfilling also of our Saviour's prophecy in the destruction of their city and temple, and the desolation of the land of Jewry: with the miseries which the Jews have sustained under many nations, and in particular here in England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. and their strange dispositions, and God's judgment on them to this day.

All to testify the truth of the Divine Oracles.

This work is also set forth with abundance of pictures, the better to express the stories and contents of it.

This precedent work, called the *Seventh* piece, was also contrived in Nicholas Ferrar's life time, and a draught of it made, though not altogether[3] with the additions and annexations to it: but was after his death contrived fully, as in the manner before set down: and made for the prince's use, to be presented to him, by the advice of some judicious and learned friends, that held it a work worthy of his acceptance, and might be both of pleasure and contentment, and useful to him in many kinds.

[3] *Though not altogether.*] "But in his life time, he gave one in this kind to the Bishop of Canterbury, containing only that first part of the *whole Law of God.* This the Bishop sent to the University Library of Oxford, where there it is to be now seen, bound up, and so done by the hands of the Virgins of Gidding, in green velvet, fairly bound and gilt." Marginal note in the MS.

It

It so happened that in the year 1642 the troubles in this land began to grow to height; and the king and prince were forced by the disorders at London to repair to York. And the king lodging with the prince and some other nobility at Huntingdon one night, the next day afternoon it was his gracious pleasure to come and honour Little Gidding with his royal presence, the prince attending him, the palsgrave, the duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles; and where his majesty staid some hours.

First he went to view the chapel, and was pleased to express his good liking of it, saying, it was a fine neat thing. "But," said he, "where are those images, &c. so much talked of?" Answer was made, "Such as his majesty now beheld it, was all that ever was there seen, or in it." He smiling said to the duke and palsgrave, "I knew it full well, that never any were in it. But what will not malice invent?" One lord said, "It was affirmed to me, that there was a cross in one of the windows in painted glass." Answer was made, "Never any, but that, if so they meant it, that was upon the crown, that there was placed upon the lion's head, that did, in the west window at the entry into the church over the door, stand, where the king's arms were placed in painted glass, and the lion that supported the arms had on the crown he wore on his head a little cross, as was ever used in the king's arms and supporters: and this was all the crosses that ever were seen in Gidding church; or any other painted glass, or pictures." The king looking up upon it, said, "What strange reports are in the world!" So the prince, palsgrave and duke all smiled; and the duke said, "Envy was *quick-sighted*."—"Nay," said the palsgrave, "can see *what is not*."

Then

Then the king was pleased to go into the house, and demanded where the great book was that he had heard was made for Charles's use. It was soon brought unto him; and the largeness and weight of it was such, that he that carried it seemed to be well laden. Which the duke observing, said, "Sir, one of your strongest guard will but be able to carry this book." It being laid on the table before the king, it was told him, that though it were then fairly bound up in purple velvet, that the outside was not fully finished, as it should be, for the prince's use and better liking. "Well," said the king, "it is very well done." So he opened the book, the prince standing at the table's end, and the palsgrave and duke on each side of the king. The king read the title-page and frontispiece all over very deliberately; and well viewing the form of it, and how adorned with a stately garnish of pictures, &c. and the curiousness of the writing of it, said, "Charles, here is book that contains excellent things. This will make you both wise and good." Then he proceeded to turn it over, leaf by leaf, and took exact notice of all in it: and it being full of pictures of sundry men's cuts, he could tell the palsgrave, who seemed also to be knowing in that kind, that this and this, and that and that, were of such a man's graving and invention. The prince all the while greatly eyed all things, and seemed much to be pleased with the book. The king having spent some hours in the perusal of it, and demanding many questions, as occasion was, concerning the contrivement of, having received answers to all he demanded, at length said, "It was only a jewel for a prince: and hoped Charles would make good use of it. And I see and find by what I have myself received formerly from this good house, that they go on daily in the prosecution of these excellent pieces.

pieces. They are brave employments of their time." The palsgrave said to the prince, "Sir, your father the king is master of the goodliest ship in the world; and I may now say, you will be master of the gallantest greatest book in the world. For I never saw such paper before; and believe there is no book of this largeness to be seen in Christendom." "The paper and the book in all conditions," said the king. "I believe is not to be matched. Here hath also in this book not wanted, you see, skill, care nor cost." "It is a most admirable piece," replied the duke of Richmond. So the king closing the book, said, "Charles, this is yours." He replied, "But, Sir, shall I not now have it with me?" Reply was made by one of the family, "If it please your highness, the book is not on the outside so finished as it is intended for you; but shall be, with all expedition, done, and you shall have it." "Well," said the king, "you must content yourself for a while."

The palsgrave, who had left the king discoursing, had stepped into the other room by, and there seen the poor alms widows rooms, which were built for them. He then comes to the king, saying, "Sir, you shall, if you please to go with me, see another good thing, that will like you well." So the king and prince followed him, and the duke. So being come into the widows' rooms, which were handsomely wainscotted, and four beds in them, after the Dutch manner of their alms houses, all along the walls; the room being rubbed, and cleanly kept, the king looking well about him, and upon all things, said, "Truly this is worth the sight. I did not think to have seen a thing in this kind, that so well pleaseth me. God's blessing be upon the founders of it! Time was," speaking to the palsgrave, "that you would have thought such a

lodging

lodging not amiss." "Yea, Sir," said he, "and happy I had had it full often." So some questions the king asked about the widows, &c. and going out of the room into a long arbour in the garden, the duke following him, he put his hand into his pocket, and took out of it five pieces in gold, saying to the duke, "Let these be given to the poor widows. It is all I have, else they should have more;" (these he had won the night before of the palsgrave at cards at Huntingdon) "and will them to pray for me."

While the king was walking, and talking, and commending the fine and pleasant situation of the house upon a little hill, which it stood upon, to divers about him, saying, "Gidding is a happy place in many respects; I am glad I have seen it." The young lords had gone into the buttery, and there found apple-pies and cheese-cakes, and came out with pieces in their hands into the parlour, to the prince, and merrily said, "Sir, will your highness taste; it is a good apple-pye as ever we eat." The prince laughed heartily at them: so wine was brought. The king came in, saying, "It grows late: the sun is going down: we must away." So their horses were brought to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies; and give him a long and happy reign. He lifting up his hand to his hat, replied, "Pray, pray for my speedy and safe return again." So the prince also took horse, and away they went.

And as the king rode through the grounds, he espied a hare sitting, and then called to the duke for his piece, which he carried; and as he sat on horse-back killed the hare; but not so dead, but she

she ran a little way. But the prince, seeing her rise up, skipped off his horse, and ran after her, through two or three furrows of water, and caught her, and laughing shewed her to the king. And away they went: but it was late before they got to Stamford that night.

I had forgot to relate, that the king, a mile before he came at the house, seeing it stand upon a hill, demanded of sir Capel Beedells, who then waited upon him, and sir Richard Stone, the high sheriff, whom he knighted the evening before, when he came into Huntingdon, what house that was that stood so pleasantly. They told him, Little Gidding. "Is that it? I must go and visit it. Doth not our way lie beneath it?" They said, Aye. Those of the family of Little Gidding, out of their windows, seeing the king's company afar off, coming that way, they all went down the hill, to the end of the lordship, and at the bridge attended the king's coming that way, as most desirous to see him, and to kiss his hands. When the king came near them, he asked sir Capel who those people were? He said the Ferrars' and Colletts' family that dwelt at Gidding. So the king approaching foremost of all, they went all to meet him; and kneeling down prayed God to bless and preserve his majesty, and keep him safe from all his enemies' malice. The king gave them all, as they passed by his hand to kiss. The prince seeing that, came galloping up, and did the like. Some of them went to kiss the palsgrave's hand, but he refused. But turning to the duke, and the other young lords, he said, "These ladies will not so soon get up the hill again. Come, let us take them up behind us." And so he came to persuade them. But they excused themselves, and made haste up the hill. The

king

king rode on purpose a foot pace up the hill, talking with sir Capel and Mr. Hill, and demanding many questions.

And this is what then happened at the presenting of this book, which ever since hath been preserved at Gidding, and attends the happy hour to be delivered into the right owner's hand; which God Almighty grant in his due time! Amen, Amen, Amen.

Nicholas Ferrar, in a paper found in his study, thus writes in it.

"The king of England (he would say) had more several languages spoken by the subjects of his dominions than any king in Christendom; and therefore deserved to have a Bible of many languages, above other princes.

There are twelve spoken in his dominions.

1. English, spoken in England, and a good part of Scotland; those, I mean, that lie next to England. It is chiefly compounded of the Saxon, French, and Latin.

2. Scottish, spoken more northerly in Scotland. It retains more of the old Saxon, and is not mingled with so many French words, as English is. Bishop Douglas translated Virgil into this dialect.

3. Welsh, spoken in Wales.

4. Cornish, spoken in Cornwall. It is a dialect of the Welsh, but very various.

5. Irish, spoken in Ireland.

6. Scot-Irish, a dialect of Irish; and is spoken in the Hebrides, islands lying on the west of Scotland.

7. Hethyan. Hethy is an island of the Orcades, in which is spoken a language, which is a dialect of the Gothish or Norwegian.

8. There is in Pembrokeshire in Wales, a country called Little England beyond Wales. They use a language compounded of the Dutch and Welsh.

9. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey they speak a corrupt kind of French, somewhat like the Walloon, which the Belgæ *qui non teutonizant*, speak.

10. In the famous isle of Man is spoken a language that is compounded of Welsh, Irish, Norwegian, but most Irish words.

This island deserves, and the people of it, a perpetual memorial, for many excellent things in it: which I cannot but thus briefly touch, in regard that my learned and pious uncle Nicholas Ferrar, of blessed memory, who had seen many parts of the world, would highly commend it, as a happy place to live in. For he would say, it were to be wished, and happy it were for England, that the same manner for law were here used, being a speedy and right way of justice, the soul of a kingdom, &c. That there were no beggars found in that island: that the inhabitants were most honest and religious, loving their pastors, to whom they use much reverence and respect; they frequenting duly divine service, without division in the church or innovation in the commonwealth. They detest the disorders, as well civil as ecclesiastical, of neighbour nations. And the women of this country, to their no small commendation, whenever they go out of the doors, gird themselves about with that winding-sheet, that they purpose to be buried in, to shew themselves perpetually mindful of their mortality. O rare example to all!

11. The

11. The languages spoken by the Savages in the Virginia Plantation.
12. That other kind also spoken in New England by those Savages.
} These in the New World."

Also there was another paper that named all the mother tongues, with their daughters, which as yet I cannot find: but hope I shall; and then (will it be) here underneath to be added. Sir, you know I did once shew it you in his study, with the other works before-mentioned, and these that follow.

8. Eighth Work; prepared but not begun. Materials only prepared, and a model drawn of it.

Glory be to God on High.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in twenty-six languages, with Arabick, Syriac, Greek, all interpreted, word for word, with Latin; likewise Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabick, Syriack and Greek, all having their several Latin translations lying opposite to them; which six languages are taken out of that most rare and accomplished Bible of the king of France, lately come forth, and as the French report, at the expence of very many thousand pounds, and great pains taken in it, and no few years spent to finish it. All these twenty-six languages are so composed and ordered, that at one view they may be seen and read, with much ease and pleasure as well as

to use and benefit. The several twenty-six languages are these that follow.

1. Hebrew.
2. Syriack.
3. Greek.
4. Arabick.
5. Chaldee.
6. Samaritan.
7. Æthiopian.
8. Sclavonian.
9. Hungarian.
10. Cantabrian.
11. Muscovian.
12. Polonian.
13. Bohemian.
14. English-Saxon.
15. German.
16. Danish.
17. Swedish.
18. Low Dutch.
19. English.
20. Welsh.
21. Irish.
22. Latin.
23. Italian.
24. Spanish.
25. French.
26. Portugall.

And moreover there are twelve several English translations; twenty various Latin translations; three Italian; three Spanish; three French; three High Dutch; and three Netherlands. And all these [9] also so placed, ordered, and contrived, that

[9] *And all these.*] "But these several translations are since resolved to be omitted, and in the place and stead of them, some other thing of more use and consequence there placed, and more suitable to this work."

"Since this frontispiece was contrived, and the model of the work framed, it is by the advice and counsel of second thoughts (determined) that in the place and stead of the twelve several English translations, the twenty various, &c. there shall be placed now either a Concordance of the four Evangelists, according to that first pattern you have seen and read, being the first work done at Gidding, and presented to the king, and set forth with pictures; or that in that place of the several translations, if no Concordance be there placed, then doctor Hammond's, that learned man's, Comments lately printed, shall be placed, and brought into this book, as a necessary and profitable jewel, to be interwoven into the book, as the model drawn doth justly declare to the eye. Glory be to God on high: Peace on earth: Good will amongst men. Amen." Marginal note in the MS.

the

the eye may discern them at one time, and peruse them all with great content: and for the conclusion of the work there is added at the end of the book, that of doctor Fulke, intitled, "A Defence of the sincere and true translation of the Holy Scripture in the English tongue, against the manifold cavils, and insolent slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the translators of the Rhemish Bible:" and theirs and ours compared together in two several columns. And the Lord's Prayer is also annexed in three-score several languages. Laus Deo.

Of this *eighth* piece the model and form was contrived to be as you have seen on the foregoing page in that manner. But these sad times coming on a-main gave an obstruction to the proceedings and attempt, so that it hath lain still till this year [1] 165—. And now it hath so fallen out that, (to the honour of those worthy learned men, that have by their great care and diligence set it on foot,) the printing of the Holy Bible in eight several languages is designed here in England; the which work in many respects is like to pass that Bible both of the king of Spain's, and the aforenamed king of France's: in which regard it is now thought fitting to defer this model, and intended work, till that our Bible be finished. And then by

[1] *Till this year.*] The printing of the Polyglot, an illustrious monument of zeal and learning, erected to the glory of their country by the episcopal divines, in times of great distress and persecution, began in 1653, and was finished in 1657. The first printed proposals respecting it were issued in the year 1652.

the

the good blessing of God, and help of some of those active hands, that are yet alive, who were instruments of the other many precedent works, as you have heard; this may in a good hour be begun, and by the help of God and good friends brought into light and finished. So contriving it by that neat way of pasting upon mighty large paper, provided for the same purpose, without which it cannot be effected, that these twenty-six or twenty-eight several languages may be, upon the opening of the book, all seen and read with much profitableness and no less pleasure. A book it will be that hath not its parallel or match in the whole world, and may well become, as many learned men say that have seen the model of it, the best library in the christian world, and a jewel not misbeseeming the greatest potentates' study. God Almighty give both means and heads and hands to effect it: to whom must be the glory, praise and honour! Amen, Amen, Amen. *

* Here end the extracts from the Lambeth MS. No. 251.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

MR. John Ferrar, author of the old MS. frequently referred to, wrote to Ed. Lenton, Esq. of Notley, enquiring whether a letter from him formerly written to Serjt. Hetley, was not the groundwork of a libellous pamphlet, entitled The Arminian Nunnery, at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire. Mr. Lenton's answer and vindication of himself, as follows, is dated Oct. 27, the year not specified, but it was 1642.

Sir,

"If your messenger had staid but one night longer, I would not have delayed my answer to your so discrete and respectful a letter; which makes me wish we were better acquainted, in hopes to confirm your good and charitable opinion of me.

Sir, I confess I should much degenerate from my birth (being a gentleman) my breeding (well known to the world) and the religion I profess; if having, upon something a bold visit, been entertained in your family with kind and civil respects, I should requite it with such scorn and calumny as this libellous pamphlet seems to insinuate.

Sir, my conceit of it is, that, in this time of too much liberty (if not licentiousness) of the press, many ballad-makers and necessitous persons (it may be set on work by some printers themselves, to promote their trade) distil their barren brains to make provision for their empty bellies, by publishing such novelties and fictions as they think will

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vent best; and, when they have spent their own little wit, borrow of others to eke it out; and so, enterlacing some shreds of their own, they patch up a penny pamphlet, to serve for their morning's draught.

Of this strain I take this book to be. The ground whereof (you doubt, but I doubt not) was the letter I writt to Sir Thomas Hettley (many years since) upon his request, that, in my passage from him to my lord Mountague's, being by your house, I would see and certify what I could in so short a stay, touching the various reports divulged in most places of your religious rites and ceremonies.

To which my true relation (which I am sorry and marvel how it should light in such hucksters-hands) the pamphleteer, by his additions and substractions, interweaving truth with falsehood to purchase some credit to his untruths, hath drawn conclusions and accusations of Arminianism and other fopperies, not once mentioned in my letter; but, as wisely as that atheist, who, to prove there was no God, vouched one end of a verse where David in his psalms saith, *There is no God;* and left out the beginning of the verse, *That the fool hath said it in his heart.*

By this time, Sir, I hope you see I am so far from being the author, infuser, abettor or countenancer of this fable, that, by it I take myself to be as much abused, and that there is as much aspersion cast upon me as upon your family, by a sly and cunning intimation (my letter being his ground-work) to make me thought (by such as know me not well) to be the author and divulger of his lies and scandals, which (by God's mercy) my soul abhors.

Had he shewed his dislike of some of the cere-

monies

monies, &c. (as I myself did, by way of argument) I should not (nor, I think, you) so much have kindled at it. But so to add to, substract, pervert, and falsify my letter, I think the author (if haply he may be found out) deserves to be censured as a counterfeiter of false letters and tokens, and as a contriver and publisher of false news, according to the law of the land and the statutes in like case provided.

His ignorance (which yet excuseth not *a toto*, if *a tanto)* I think will be his best plea. For, it should seem, he is no great clerk. Which I observe even almost at the beginning of his story, where he tells a tale as of a third person, and in the same clause, within two or three lines after, ineptly changeth it into the first person; without any apt transition. A solecism which a mean scholar would hardly have fallen into.

To have put the true copy of my letter in print, without my privity, had been a great inhumanity. But, to pervert it with so many falsifications and laying his inhumanities on me, I think, none but a licentious libeller, or a beggarly ballad-maker, would have offered.

I was so conscious to myself of intending no wrong to your family in my relation, that I thought to have sent your brother [N. F.] a copy thereof; and had done it, if want of opportunity in his lifetime, and his death afterwards had not prevented me. And I would now send you a true copy thereof, if you had not wrote to me, that you had it presently after my writing it. And sith I have been at your house long since (for it is about seven years past, as I take it, that I writ the relation) I presume you would have expostulated the matter with me, if you had taken any just exception or distaste at it. But therein you might well perceive, that

that I endeavoured not to detract any thing from you, or to conceal even the civility or humility I found, or what I had heard or believed of your works of charity.

Thus, Sir, even the very same day I received your's (for there needs no long time to answer a matter of fact with matter of truth; and being full of indignation to be thus traduced, whereof I longed instantly to discharge myself). I scribled over this candid and ingenuous answer. And I am now troubled that you gave me no direction for the address thereof to you; which, when haply you shall receive, I leave to your own discretion, to make what use thereof you please; presuming that you will therein have the like respects to me which herein I have had to you. So leaving us to the guidance of our good God, I subscribe, as you to me, your friend and servant,

Notley near Thame, Oct. 27. Ed. Lenton.

To the worshipful my worthily esteemed friend John Ferrar, Esq. at his house in Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire.

The copy of my letter to Sir Thomas Hetley, Kt. and serjeant at law, upon his request to certify as I found.

Good Mr. Serjeant*.

I can give you but a short account of my not two hours stay at the reputed (at least reported) nunnery at Gidding; and yet must leave out three parts of our passages, as fitter for a relation than a letter.

I came thither after ten; and found a fair house, fairly seated; to which I passed through a fine

* 1635.

grove

grove and sweet walks, letticed and gardened on both sides.

Their livelihood 500l. per annum, as my lord Montague told me; one of his mansion houses being within two or three miles of them.

A man-servant brought me into a fair spacious parlour. Whither, soon after, came to me the old gentlewoman's second son [Nicholas Ferrar;] a batchelor, of a plain presence, but of able speech and parts. Who, after I had (as well as in such case I could) deprecated any ill conceit of me, for so unusual and bold a visit, entertained me very civilly and with much humility. Yet said, I was the first who ever came to them in that kind; though not the first whom they had heard of, who determined to come. After deprecations and some compliments, he said, I should see his mother, if I pleased. I shewing my desire, he went up into a chamber, and presently returned with these; namely, his mother, a tall, straight, clear-complexioned, grave matron, of eighty years of age. His elder brother, married (but whether a widower, I asked not) a short, black-complexioned man. His apparel and hair so fashioned as made him shew priest-like. And his sister, married to one Mr. Colet: by whom she hath 14 or 15 children: all which are in the house (which I saw not yet.) And of these, and two or three maid-servants, the family consists.

I saluted the mother and daughter, not like nuns, but as we use to salute other women. And (after we were all seated circular-wise, and my deprecations renewed to the other three *) I desired that, to their favour of entertaining me, they

* Mr. John Ferrar, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and Mr. John Collet.

would

would add the giving of me a free liberty to speak ingenuously what I conceived of any thing I should see or have heard of, without any distaste to them.

Which being granted; I first told them, what I had heard of the Nuns of Gidding. Of two, watching and praying all night. Of their canonical hours. Of their crosses on the outside and inside of their chapel. Of an altar there, richly decked with plate, tapestry, and tapers. Of their adorations and geniculations at their entering therein. Which, I objected, might savor of superstition and popery.

Here the younger son, the mouth for them all, cut me off; and, to this last, answered first, with a protestation, That he did as verily believe the Pope to be Antichrist as any article of his faith. Wherewith I was satisfied and silenced, touching that point.

For the nunnery; he said, That the name of nuns was odious. But the truth (from whence that untrue report might arise) was, that two of his nieces had lived, one, thirty; the other, thirty-two, years, virgins; and so resolved to continue (as he hoped they would) the better to give themselves to fasting and prayer: but had made no vows [2]."

For

[2] *No vows.*] "Yet nothing is so sound, but in time it will run into corruption. For I must not hold it in, that some persons in Little Gidding had run into excess, and incurred offence, if the bishop had not broken the snare, which they were preparing for their own feet. For after he had spoken well of the family in the pulpit, and privately to divers, some of them could not see when they were well, but aspired to be transcendants above their measure. For two daughters of the stock came to the bishop, and offered themselves to be veiled virgins, to take upon them the vow of perpetual chastity, with the solemnity of the episcopal blessing, and ratification: whom

For the canonical hours, he said, they usually prayed *six* times a day. As I remember, *twice* a day publicly, in the chapel; and four times more, privately, in the house. In the chapel, after the order of the book of common-prayer; in their house, particular prayers for a private family.

I said, if they spent so much time in praying, they would leave little for preaching or for their weekly callings. For the one I vouched the text, *He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination**. For the other, *six days shalt thou labour*, &c.

To the one he answered, that a neighbour minister of another parish came on Sunday-mornings, and preached; and sometimes they went to his parish. To the other, that their calling was to serve God; which he took to be the best.

I replied, that, for men in health and of active bodies and parts, it were a tempting of God to quit our callings, and wholly to betake ourselves to fasting, prayer, and a contemplative life, which by some is thought little better than a serious kind

whom he admonished very fatherly, that they knew not what they went about: that they had no promise to confirm that grace unto them; that this readiness, which they had in the present, should be in their will, without repentance, to their life's end. *Let the younger women marry*, was the best advice, that they might not be led into temptation. And that they might not forget what he taught them, he drew up his judgment in three sheets of paper, and sent it to them home, that they might dress themselves by that glass, and learn not to think of human nature, above that which it is, a sea of flowings and ebbings, and of all manner of inconstancy. The direction of God was in this counsel: for one of the gentlewomen afterwards took a liking to a good husband, and was well bestowed." Hacket's life of archbishop Williams. Part ii. p. 52.

* Prov. xxviii. 9.

of

of idleness; not to term it (as St. Austin terms moral virtues without Christ) *splendida peccata.*

He enjoined, that they had found divers perplexities, distractions, and almost utter ruin, in their callings. But (if others knew what comfort and content God ministered to them since their sequestration, and with what incredible improvements of their livelihood) it might encourage others to [take] the like course.

I said, that such an imitation might be of dangerous consequence. And that if any, in good case before, should fall into poverty [when entered into it,] few afterwards would follow the example.

For their night-watchings, and their rising at four of the clock in the morning (which I thought was [too] much for one of fourscore years, and for children.) To the one he said, it was not [too] much; since they always went to bed at seven of the clock in the evening. For the other, he confessed, there were every night two *(alternatim)* continued all night in their devotions, who went not to bed until the rest arose.

For the crosses he made the usual answer, that they were not ashamed of that badge of the christian profession which the first propugners of the faith bare in their banners, and which we, in our church discipline, retain to this day.

For their chapel; that it was now near chapel time (for eleven is the hour in the forenoon) and that I might, if I pleased, accompany them thither, and so satisfy myself best of what I had heard concerning that. Which afterwards I willingly entertained.

In the mean time I told them, I perceived all was not true which I had heard of the place. For I could see no such inscription on the frontispiece of the house, containing a kind of invitation of

such as were willing to learn of them, or would teach them better. Which, I said, was some encouragement for me to come (as one desirous to learn, not teach) and might be some excuse of my audacity, if they would be pleased so to accept it. But he, barring me from farther compliments, said, the ground of that report hung over my head.

We sitting by the chimney, [I saw] in the chimney piece was a manuscript tableture; which, after I had read, I craved leave to beg a copy of (so they would not take me for too bold a beggar.) He forthwith took it down, and commanded it to be presently transcribed and given to me. I offered the writer money, for his deserved pains: which was refused. And the master [N. F.] conjured me not to offer it a second time. And thereupon [also he] made it his [farther] suit [to me], not to offer any thing to any in that house, at my parting, or otherwise. The words of the protestation are as followeth *.

The matter of this declaration being in such general terms, I said, I thought it without exception. But I prayed leave to except a circumstance, namely the superscription: it being the proper character of the Jesuits in every book and exhibit of theirs. He said, it was that auspicious name, [Jesus] worthy to be the alpha and omega of all our doings; and that we are commanded to write such things *on the posts of our houses and upon our gates.* (Deut. vi. 9.) I told him, I was far from excepting against that sacred, saving name of Jesus; only I could have wished it written at length, or any other way, to have differenced it from that which the Papists only use, but no Pro-

* I H S
He who by reproof, &c. see p. 187 of these Memoirs.

testants.

testants. And, that the text he mentioned, was in the old testament (where there was no mention of Jesus, but of Jehovah) to my remembrance. But

We passed from this towards the chapel, being about forty paces from the house; yet [were] staid a little (as with a parenthesis) by a glass of sack, a sugar-cake, and a fine napkin, brought by a mannerly maid. Which refreshed my memory to tell them what my lord bishop of Lincoln [Williams] said of them. Wherein yet I brake no laws of humanity or hospitality (though spoken at his table.) For he said nothing but what they wished and were glad to hear; [all] being but the relation of the grave and discreet answers (as my lord himself termed them) of the old gentlewoman to some of his lordship's expostulations.

To that part concerning the young deacon, whom his lordship had heard of, to come from Cambridge to officiate in their chapel; he (innuendo even the younger son, who only was the speaker) said, that himself was the young deacon intended. That he is two and forty years old; was fellow of an house in Cambridge; and hath taken the orders of a deacon.—To say nothing of his having been at Rome (whereof I could have excepted no more against him than he might against me.) For having been so long in the labour of the chapel, it is now high time we were at the church—

At the entering thereof he made a low obeysance; a few paces farther, a lower; coming to the half-pace (which was at the east end, where the table stood) he bowed to the ground, if not prostrated himself: then went up into a fair, large reading place (a preaching place being, of the same proportion, right over against it.) The mother, with all her train (which were her daughter and daughter's daughters) had a fair island seat.

He

He placed me above, upon the half-pace, with two fair window cushions of green velvet before me. Over against me was such another seat, so suited; but no body to set in it. The daughter's four sons kneeled all the while on the edge of the half-pace; all in black gowns. (And they went to church in round Monmouth caps, as my man said; for I looked not back) the rest all in black, save one of the daughter's daughters, who was in a fryer's grey gown.

We being thus placed, the deacon (for so I must now call him) with a very loud and distinct voice, began with the Litany, read divers prayers and collects in the book of Common-prayer, and Athanasius his creed, and concluded with The Peace of God, &c.

All ended, the mother, with all her company, attended my coming down. But her son (the deacon) told her, I would stay awhile to view the chapel. So with all their civil salutations towards me (which I returned them afar off; for I durst not come nearer lest I should have light upon one of the virgins; not knowing whether they would have taken a kiss in good part or no) they departed home.

Now (none but the deacon and I left) I observed the chapel, in general, to be fairly and sweetly adorned with herbs and flowers, natural in some places and artificial upon every *pillar* along both sides the chapel (such as are in cathedral churches) with tapers (I mean great virgin-wax-candles) on every pillar.

The half-pace at the upper end (for there was no other division betwixt the body of the chapel and the east part) was all covered with tapestry. And, upon that half-pace, stood the communion-table

(not altar-wise, as reported*) with a rich carpet hanging very large upon the half-pace; and some plate, as a chalice, and candlesticks, with wax candles.

By the preaching place stood the font; the leg, laver, and cover, all of brass, cut and carved. The cover had a cross erected. The laver was of the bigness of a barber's bason.

And this is all which I had leisure to observe in the chapel; save that I asked for the organs? And he told me, they were not there; but that they had a pair in their house.

I asked also, what use they made of so many tapers? He said, to give them light, when they could not see without them.

Then (having, as I told you before, obtained leave to say what I listed) I asked him, to whom he made all those courtesies? He said, to God. I asked, if the Papists made any other answer for their bowing to images and crucifixes? yet we account them idolators for so doing. He said, we have no such warrant for the one. But for the

* [Formerly the church puritans generally set the communion table either in the body of the church, or (if in the chancel, yet) with the two ends pointing east and west (not north and south.) And Williams, now bishop of Lincoln (in opposition to archbishop Laud and others, who set it altar-wise) insisted much upon their standing so. And, in obedience to bishop Williams (who was his diocesan) no doubt it was, that Mr. Ferrar set his communion table, after the Puritan manner, with the two ends pointing east and west. Though, I guess, it stood otherwise 'till this very year 1635. Be that as it will, this passage may serve to shew, that bishop Williams was, even then, hatching his holy table, name, and thing (printed in 1637) and setting others to oppose the archbishop's usage.—Though the bishop's own practice, in his own chapel at Buckden, both before and after, was otherwise. F.P.]

other

other we had a precept, to *do all things with decency and order;* as he took this to be.

I demanded then, why he used not the same solemnity in his service at his house? And, whether he thought the chapel more holy than his house? He said, no. But that God was more immediately present, while we were worshipping him in the temple.

I replied, that I thought God was as present at Paul's cross as at Paul's church; and at the preaching-place at Whitehall, and 'spital sermons, as elsewhere. For, where two or three are gathered together in his name, God is in the midst of them. And yet in those places (no not in the body of the church, though there be a sermon and prayers there) we do not use this threefold reverence, nor any low bowing, unless in the chancel towards the east, where an altar, or some crucifix, is?—He answered me something of the trinary number, which I did not understand, nor well hear.

This, as all other our discourse, being ended with mildness and moderation (on his part at least) I said farther, since their devotions (from which they would be loth to be diverted or interrupted, as in the said protestation appears) are more strict and regular than usual, if in their consciences they were persuaded that all their formalities and ceremonies were but *adiaphora* (things indifferent) I then thought they were as wise as serpents (in the scripture sense) in complying so with the church ceremonies, that they might the safelier hold on their course without exception. For in this comportment, I thought, authority would not except against them, unless for exceeding the cathedrals; who make but one reverence, whereas they make three. He said, I spake like one who seemed to have had experience in the world.

It being now near twelve o'clock, we ended our discourse, and I called for my horses; hoping that thereupon he would have invited me to stay dinner: not that I care for his or any man's meat (for you had given me a dinner in too good a breakfast) but that I might have gained more time to have seen and observed more of their fashions; and whether the virgins and younger sort would have mingled with us? with divers other things, which such a dinner-time would have best have ministered matter for. But, instead of making me stay, he helped me in calling for my horses; accompanying me even to my stirrup. And so, I not returning into the house, as we friendly met, we friendly parted.

Many more questions I thought on, when it was too late; and yet you see I was not idle for the short time I stayed. I asked him, of their monthly receiving the sacrament? And, whether their servants (when they received) were attended by their masters and mistresses, and suffered not so much as to lay and take away their own trenchers, as I had heard? Whereat he smiled, as at a frivolous fable, and said, the only difference [then] from other days was, that the servants (the day they received) sat at the same table with them.

I heard also that they never roast any meat; only boil and bake (but not in paste) that their servants may not be much hindered from their devotions. And that they have but one horse amongst them all. But of these I made no mention.

They are extraordinary well reported of by their neighbours, viz. that they are very liberal to the poor; at great cost in preparing physic and surgery, for the sick and sore (whom they visit often) and that some sixty or eighty poor people they task with catechetical questions: which when they come and make answer to, they are rewarded with money

and

and their dinner. By means of which reward of meat and money, the poor catechumens learn their lessons well: and so their bodies and souls too are well fed.

I find them full of humanity and humility. And others speak as much of their charity: which I also verily believe. And therefore am far from censuring them: of whom I think much better than of myself. My opposing of some of their opinions and practices, as you see in this my relation (wherein I may have varied in some circumstances, but nothing from the substance) was only by way of argument, and for my own better information. I shall be glad to observe how wiser men will judge of them, or imitate their course of life.

I intended not a third part of this when I began, as you may see by my first lines. But, one thing drawing on another, I have now left out little or nothing to my remembrance; saving what I thought fitting in good manners, upon my first affront, to make way for my welcome, and *ad captandam benevolentiam;* which is not worth the repeating, if I could; and I am something better at acting such a part, than at relating it: though good at neither.

After this long and tedious relation, I must now make but short thanks to yourself and my lady for my long and kind welcome; wherein my wife joins with me; praying your remembering our loving respects to our kind nieces (hoping the good scholars at Westminster are well.) And so I leave you to the grace of God; and am the same, your loving friend

EDWARD LENTON.

Having been desired by a very worthy and judicious friend to give a specimen of Mr. Ferrar's devotional compositions, I here add one prayer, which was used regularly the first Sunday in every month, and one which was drawn up on the particular occasion of the dangerous illness of his dear friend Mr. Geo. Herbert.

The established rule of the family was to receive the sacrament the first Sunday of every month in the parish church, and on those days in their devotions at home to add a general form of thanksgiving for dangers escaped, and mercies received; of which the following is a copy something shortened.

"We come, O Lord, most mighty God, and merciful Father, to offer unto thy Divine Majesty, the monthly tribute of that duty, which indeed we are continually bound to perform, the tender of our most humble and hearty thanks for those inestimable benefits which we, unworthy sinners, have from time to time in abundant manner received of thy goodness, and do even unto this hour enjoy. Yet by our ingratitude and abuse of them, we have deserved not only the deprivation of these good things, but that by a rigorous chastisement thou shouldest make us an example of thine impartial justice. For there is none, O Lord, to whom thou hast given more abundance or greater variety of the comforts of this life. If we should go about to tell them, they are more in number than the sand: there are none upon whom thou hast more freely conferred them: yet ought we to confess that we are not worthy of the least of thy favours. And as in regard of our unworthiness, so likewise in respect of the lowliness of our condition whence thou hast raised us, of the

the dangers wherewith we have been environed, of the difficulties wherewith we have been enthralled, we must needs cry out, Great are the wonderous works which thou hast done; for on every side we hear the voice of the beholders, Blessed are people who are in such a case. Wonderful indeed hath been thy goodness towards us: while the wise have been disappointed in their counsels, while the full of friends have been left desolate, while the men whose hands were mighty have found nothing, while the strong on every side have fallen, we, O Lord, have been by thy power raised up, by thine arm have we been strengthened, guided by thy counsels, and relieved by the favour of thy mercies. And that we might know that it was thy doing, by those ways and means which we thought not of, thou hast brought us into a wealthy place, and to these many comforts which we now enjoy. And although we have not any way deserved thy favours, yet is thy patience extended towards us. We must needs acknowledge, O Lord, that the liberality of thy hand is extended even beyond the largeness of our own hearts. And yet, O Lord, all this is nothing in comparison of that which we may farther enjoy. By how much the things of heaven do surpass those of the earth, by how much everlasting happiness is more worth than the transitory and feeble pleasures of this life, by so much more surpassing are those graces and favours with which thou hast furnished us for the knowledge of thy heavenly will, and for the practices of those duties, of which our conversation in this world is capable.

"Thou hast given to us a freedom from all other affairs that we may without distraction attend thy service. That holy gospel which came down from heaven, with things the angels desire to look into,

into, is by thy goodness, continually open to our view: the sweet music thereof is continually sounding in our ears: heavenly songs are by thy mercy put into our mouths, and our tongues and lips made daily instruments of pouring forth thy praise. This, Lord, is the work, and this the pleasure of the angels in heaven: and dost thou vouchsafe to make us partakers of so high an happiness? The knowledge of thee, and of thy Son is everlasting life. Thy service is perfect freedom: how happy then are we, that thou dost constantly retain us in the daily exercise thereof!

"With these favours, and mercies, O Lord, we ought to acknowledge ourselves most happy: we ought to be joyful in the midst of adversities, in the depth of affliction, and in the height of distress. How much more then are we bound to thee for thy merciful continuance of those blessings which we enjoy! we are bound, O Lord, but unable to perform this duty as we ought; yet since thou hast invited us, we now come to the performance thereof; to render to thy divine Majesty the most humble, and hearty acknowledgment of our own demerits, and thy infinite goodness. We beseech thee that thou wilt enlarge our hearts, and open our mouths, that our prayers may be set forth in thy sight as incense, and the lifting up of our hands as a sacrifice unto thee, for the only merits of thy dear Son, in whose name and mediation we offer up both our prayers and praises, and together with them ourselves, beseeching thee that they being sanctified by thy grace, may be every way made acceptable to thee. Amen."

On particular occurrences, Mr. Ferrar composed more particular forms, to be used occasionally, of which the following is an example.

"On

"On Friday" (date not mentioned) "Mr. Mapletoft brought us word that Mr. Herbert was said to be past hope of recovery, which was very grievous news to us, and so much the more so, being altogether unexpected. We presently therefore made our public supplication for his health in the words, and manner following.

"O most mighty God, and merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, if it be thy good pleasure, to continue to us, that singular benefit which thou hast given us in the friendship of thy servant, our dear brother, who now lieth on the bed of sickness. Let him abide with us yet awhile, for the furtherance of our faith. We have indeed deserved by our ingratitude, not only the loss of him, but whatever other opportunities thou hast given us for the attainment of our salvation. We do not deserve to be heard in our supplications; but thy mercies are above all thy works. In consideration whereof we prostrate ourselves in all humble earnestness, beseeching thee, if so it may seem good to thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt hear us in this, who hast heard us in all the rest, and that thou wilt bring him back again from the gates of death: that thou wilt yet a while spare him, that he may live to thy honour, and our comfort. Lord, thou hast willed that our delights should be in the saints on earth, and in such as excel in virtue: how then should we not be afflicted, and mourn when thou takest them away from us! Thou hast made him a great help, and furtherance of the best things amongst us, how then can we but esteem the loss of him, a chastisement from thy displeasure! O Lord, we beseech thee that it may not be so: we beseech thee, if it be thy good pleasure, restore unto us

our

our dear brother, by restoring to him his health: so will we praise and magnify thy name, and mercy, with a song of thanksgiving. Hear us, O Lord, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen."

Thus have I complied with the desire of a worthy friend; and in so doing have, I think, given to the public, in these examples, not only a proof of the piety of Mr. Ferrar, but also of his excellence in devotional composition.

BISHOP

BISHOP HALL.

Let us all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorouſly to the task that lies before us; improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward luſtre of a Church; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celeſtial influences as the fairest and most beautified Temples.—And it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even Piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for.

DOCTOR HENRY HAMMOND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the year 1660 was published in 4to, a volume intitled, *The Shaking of the Olive Tree: the remaining Works of that incomparable Prelate Joseph Hall, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich.* It contained among other things, *Observations of some specialties of Divine Providence in the Life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich,* and his *Hard Measure,* both written with his own hand. The following Life is composed principally of a republication of those two tracts. They are printed from the abovementioned edition of the year 1660.

BISHOP HALL.

NOT out of a vain affectation of my own glory, which I know how little it can avail me, when I am gone hence; but out of a sincere desire to give glory to my God, (whose wonderful providence I have noted in all my ways) have I recorded some remarkable passages of my fore-past life. What I have done is worthy of nothing, but silence and forgetfulness: but what God hath done for me, is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory.

I was born July 1, 1574, at five of the clock in the morning, in Bristow-Park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch, a town in Leicestershire, of honest and well allowed parentage. My father was an officer under that truly honourable and religious, Henry earl of Huntingdon, president of the north, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein the chief seat of that earldome is placed. My mother Winifride, of the house of the Bambridges, was a woman of that rare sanctity, that (were it not for my interest in nature,) I durst say, that neither Aleth, the mother of that just honour of Clareval; nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons, antiently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison. She was continually exercised with the affliction of a weak body, and oft of a wounded spirit, the agonies whereof, as she would oft recount with much passion, professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but Flea-bites to those

those scorpions, so from them all, at last she found an happy and comfortable deliverance, and that not without a more than ordinary hand of God. For on a time being in great distress of conscience, she thought in her dream, there stood by her a grave personage, in the gown, and other habits of a physician, who enquiring of her estate, and receiving a sad and querulous answer from her, took her by the hand, and bade her be of good comfort, for this should be the last fit that ever she should feel of this kind; whereto she seemed to answer, that upon that condition, she could well be content for the time, with that, or any other torment. Reply was made to her, as she thought, with a redoubled assurance of that happy issue of this her last trial; whereat she began to conceive an unspeakable joy; which yet upon her awaking left her more disconsolate, as then conceiting her happiness imaginary, her misery real; when the very same day, she was visited by the reverend, and (in his time) famous divine, Mr. Anthony Gilby, under whose ministry she lived; who, upon the relation of this her pleasing vision, and the contrary effects it had in her, began to persuade her, that dream was no other than divine, and that she had good reason to think that gracious premonition was sent her from God himself, who, though ordinarily he keeps the common road of his proceedings, yet sometimes in the distresses of his servants, he goes unusual ways to their relief. Hereupon she began to take heart, and by good counsel and her fervent prayers, found that happy prediction verified to her; and upon all occasions in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance. What with the trial of both these hands of God, so had she profited in the school of Christ, that it

it was hard for any friend to come from her discourse no whit holier. How often have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity, which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion, whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification! Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety; neither have I known any soul, that more accurately practised them, than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts were her usual theme: shortly, for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like.

My parents had from mine infancy devoted me to this sacred calling, whereto, by the blessing of God, I have seasonably attained. For this cause I was trained up in the public school of the place. After I had spent some years (not altogether indiligently) under the ferule of such masters as the place afforded, and had near attained to some competent ripeness for the university; my school-master, being a great admirer of one Mr. Pelset, who was then lately come from Cambridge, to be the public preacher of Leicester, (a man very eminent in those times, for the fame of his learning, but especially for his sacred oratory) persuaded my father, that if I might have my education under so excellent and complete a divine, it might be both a nearer, and easier way to his purposed end, than by an academical institution. The motion sounded well in my father's ears, and carried fair probabilities; neither was it other than fore-compacted betwixt my school-master and Mr. Pelset; so as on both sides it was entertained with great forwardness.

The gentleman, upon essay taken of my fitness for the use of his studies, undertakes within one

seven years, to send me forth, no less furnished with arts, languages, and grounds of theorical divinity, than the carefullest tutor in the strictest college of either university. Which that he might assuredly perform, to prevent the danger of any mutable thoughts in my parents, or myself, he desired mutual bonds to be drawn betwixt us. The great charge of my father, (whom it pleased God to bless with twelve children) made him the more apt to yield to so likely a project for a younger son. There, and now were all the hopes of my future life upon blasting. The indentures were preparing, the time was set, my suits were addressed for the journey. What was the issue? O God, thy providence made and found it. Thou knowest how sincerely and heartily, in those my young years *, I did cast myself upon thy hands; with what faithful resolution, I did in this particular occasion resign myself over to thy disposition, earnestly begging of thee in my fervent prayers, to order all things to the best; and confidently waiting upon thy will for the event. Certainly, never did I in all my life more clearly roll myself upon the Divine Providence, than I did in this business; and it succeeded accordingly.

It fell out at this time, that my elder brother having some occasions to journey unto Cambridge, was kindly entertained there, by Mr. Nathaniel Gilby, fellow of Emanuel College, who, for that he was born in the same town with me, and had conceived some good opinion of my aptness to learning, inquired diligently concerning me; and hearing of the diversion of my father's purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so

* Anno Ætatis. 15°.

good

good hopes. My brother, partly moved with his words, and partly won by his own eyes, to a great love, and reverence of an academical life, returning home, fell upon his knees to my father, and after the report of Mr. Gilby's words, and his own admiration of the place, earnestly besought him, that he would be pleased to alter that so prejudicial a resolution, that he would not suffer my hopes to be drowned in a shallow country-channel; but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge; adding in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness of that course were the hinderance, he did there humbly beseech him, rather to sell some part of that land, which himself should in course of nature inherit, than to abridge me of that happy means to perfect my education.

No sooner had he spoken those words than my father no less passionately condescended; notwithout a vehement protestation, that whatsoever it might cost him, I should (God willing) be sent to the university. Neither were those words sooner out of his lips, than there was a messenger from Mr. Pelset knocking at the door, to call me to that fairer bondage, signifying, that the next day he expected me, with a full dispatch of all that business. To whom my father replied, that he came some minutes too late; that he had now otherwise determined of me; and with a respective message of thanks to the master, sent the man home empty, leaving me full of the tears of joy for so happy a change. Indeed I had been but lost, if that project had succeeded; as it well appeared in the experience of him who succeeded in that room, which was by me thus unexpectedly forsaken? O God, how was I then taken up with a thankful acknowledgment, and joyful admiration of thy gracious providence over me.

And now I lived in the expectation of Cambridge; whither ere long I happily came, under Mr. Gilby's tuition, together with my worthy friend Mr. Hugh Cholmley, who, as we had been partners of one lesson from our cradles, so were we now for many years partners of one bed. My two first years were necessarily chargeable, above the proportion of my father's power, whose not very large cistern, was to feed many pipes besides mine. His weariness of expense was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise friends, who persuaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. Now was I fetched home with an heavy heart; and now this second time had mine hopes been nipped in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhoped benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh of Darby (whose pious memory I have cause ever to love and reverence.) Out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt, pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged, and solicited my father for my return to the university, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of master of arts, which he no less really and lovingly performed. The condition was gladly accepted; thither was I sent back with joy enough, and ere long, chosen scholar of that strict and well ordered college.

By that time I had spent six years there, now the third year of my bachelorship should at once both make an end of my maintenance, and in respect of standing, give me a capacity of further preferment in that house, were it not that my country excluded me, for our statute allowed but one of a shire to be fellow there, and my tutor being of the same town with me, must therefore necessarily hold me out. But, O my God, how strangely did

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thy gracious providence bring this business about! I was now entertaining motions of remove. A place was offered me in the island of Guernsey, which I had in speech and chase. It fell out that the father of my loving chamberfellow, Mr. Cholmley, a gentleman that had likewise dependance upon the most noble Henry earl of Huntingdon, having occasion to go to York, unto that his honourable lord, fell into some mention of me. That good earl (who well esteemed my father's service) having belikely heard some better words of me than I could deserve, made earnest inquiry after me, what were my courses; what my hopes; and hearing of the likelihood of my removal professed much dislike of it; not without some vehemence, demanding why I was not chosen fellow of that college, wherein by report I received such approbation. Answer was returned that my country debarred me; which being filled with my tutor, whom his lordship well knew, could not by the statute admit a second. The earl presently replied, that if that were the hinderance he would soon take order to remove it; whereupon his lordship presently sends for my tutor Mr. Gilby unto York, and with proffer of large conditions of the chaplainship in his house, and assured promises of better provisions, drew him to relinquish his place in the college to a free election. No sooner was his assent signified, than the days were set for the public (and indeed exquisite) examination of the competitors. By that time two days of the three allotted to this trial were past, certain news came to us of the unexpected death of that incomparably religious and noble earl of Huntingdon, by whose loss my then disappointed tutor must necessarily be left to the wide world unprovided for. Upon notice thereof I presently repaired to the master of the college, Mr. Dr. Chaderton, and besought him

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to tender that hard condition to which my good tutor must needs be driven if the election proceeded; to stay any farther progress in that business; and to leave me to my own good hopes wheresoever, whose youth exposed me both to less needs, and more opportunities of provision. Answer was made me, that the place was pronounced void however, and therefore that my tutor was devested of all possibility of remedy; and must wait upon the Providence of God for his disposing elsewhere, and the election must necessarily proceed the day following. Then was I with a cheerful unanimity chosen into that society, which if it had any equals, I dare say had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety; in which I spent six or seven years more with such contentment, as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to yield. Now was I called to public disputations often, with no ill success; for never durst I appear in any of those exercises of scholarship, till I had from my knees looked up to heaven for a blessing, and renewed my actual dependance upon that divine hand. In this while two years together was I chosen to the rhetoric lecture in the public schools, where I was encouraged with a sufficient frequence of auditors; but finding that well applauded work somewhat out of my way, not without a secret blame of myself for so much excursion, I fairly gave up that task in the midst of those poor acclamations to a worthy successor Dr. Dod, and betook myself to those serious studies, which might fit me for that high calling whereunto I was destined, wherein after I had carefully bestowed myself for a time, I took the boldness to enter into sacred orders; the honour whereof having once attained, I was no niggard of that talent which my God had entrusted

to

to me, preaching often as occasion was offered, both in country villages abroad, and at home in the most awful auditory of the university.

And now I did but wait where and how it would please my God, to employ me. There was at that time a famous school erected at Tiverton in Devon, and endowed with a very large pension, whose goodly fabric was answerable to the reported maintenance; the care whereof, was by the rich and bountiful founder Mr. Blundel, cast principally upon the then lord chief justice Popham. That faithful observer having great interest in the master of our house, Dr. Chaderton, moved him earnestly to commend some able, learned, and discrete governor to that weighty charge, whose action should not need to be so much as his oversight. It pleased our master out of his good opinion to tender this condition unto me, assuring me of no small advantages, and no great toil, since it was intended the main load of the work should lie upon other shoulders. I apprehended the motion worth the entertaining. In that severe society our times were stinted, neither was it wise or safe to refuse good offers. Dr. Chaderton carried me to London, and there presented me to the lord chief justice with much testimony of approbation. The judge seemed well apayed with the choice. I promised acceptance, he the strength of his favour. No sooner had I parted from the judge, than in the street a messenger presented me with a letter, from the right virtuous and worthy lady (of dear and happy memory) the lady Drury of Suffolk, tendering the rectory of her Halsted then newly void, and very earnestly desiring me to accept of it. Dr. Chaderton observing in me some change of countenance, asked me what the matter might be. I told him the errand, and delivered him the letter,

letter, beseeching his advice; which when he had read, "Sir," (quoth I) "methinks God pulls me by the sleeve, and tells me it is his will I should rather go to the east than to the west." "Nay" (he answered) "I should rather think that God would have you go westward, for that he hath contrived your engagement before the tender of this letter, which therefore coming too late may receive a fair and easy answer." To this I besought him to pardon my dissent, adding, that I well knew that divinity was the end whereto I was destined by my parents, which I had so constantly proposed to myself, that I never meant other, than to pass through this western school to it; but I saw that God who found me ready to go the farther way about, now called me the nearest and directest way to that sacred end. The good man could no further oppose, but only pleaded the distaste which would hereupon be justly taken by the lord chief justice, whom I undertook fully to satisfy; which I did with no great difficulty, commending to his lordship in my room, my old friend and chamber-fellow Mr. Cholmley, who finding an answerable acceptance disposed himself to the place; so as we two, who came together to the university, now must leave it at once.

Having then fixed my foot at Halsted, I found there a dangerous opposite to the success of my ministry, a witty and bold atheist, one Mr. Lilly, who by reason of his travails, and abilities of discourse and behaviour, had so deeply insinuated himself into my patron, Sir Robert Drury, that there was small hopes (during his entireness) for me to work any good upon that noble patron of mine; who by the suggestion of this wicked detractor was set off from me before he knew me. Hereupon (I confess) finding the obduredness and hopeless condi-

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tion of that man, I bent my prayers against him, beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labours, who gave me an answer accordingly. For this malicious man going hastily up to London, to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any farther mischief.

Now the coast was clear before me, and I gained every day of the good opinion and favourable respects of that honourable gentleman and my worthy neighbours. Being now therefore settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, near to St. Edmund's-Bury, my first work was to build up my house which was then extremely ruinous; which done, the uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single house-keeping, drew my thoughts after two years to condescend to the necessity of a married estate, which God no less strangely provided for me. For walking from the church on Monday in the Whitsun-week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandidge, I saw a comely modest gentlewoman standing at the door of that house where we were invited to a wedding-dinner, and enquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her, "Yes," (quoth he) "I know her well, and have bespoken her for your wife." When I further demanded an account of that answer, he told me, she was the daughter of a gentleman whom he much respected, Mr. George Winniff of Bretenham; that out of an opinion had of the fitness of that match for me, he had already treated with her father about it, whom he found very apt to entertain it, advising me not to neglect the opportunity; and not concealing the just praises of the modesty, piety, good disposition,

sition, and other virtues that were lodged in that seemly presence, I listened to the motion as sent from God, and at last upon due prosecution happily prevailed, enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty nine years.

I had not passed two years in this estate, when my noble friend sir Edmund Bacon, with whom I had much intireness came to me, and earnestly solicited me for my company in a journey by him projected to the Spa in Ardenna, laying before me the safety, the easiness, the pleasure, and the benefit of that small extravagance, if opportunity were taken of that time, when the earl of Hertford passed in embassy to the arch-duke Albert of Bruxells. I soon yielded, as for the reasons by him urged, so especially for the great desire I had to inform myself ocularly of the state and practice of the Romish Church; the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station. Having therefore taken careful order for the supply of my charge, with the assent and good allowance of my nearest friends, I entered into this secret voyage [1].

We waited some days at Harwich for a wind, which we hoped might waft us over to Dunkirk, where our ambassador had lately landed, but at last having spent a day, and half a night at sea, we were forced for want of favour from the wind, to put in at Queenborough, from whence coasting over the rich and pleasant county of Kent, we renewed our shipping at Dover, and soon landing at Calais, we passed after two days by waggon to the strong towns of Graveling, and Dunkirk, where I could not but find much horror in myself to pass

[1] *This secret voyage.*] See Bishop Hall's *Epistles*. Decad. 1. epist. 5.

under

under those dark and dreadful prisons, where so many brave Englishmen, had breathed out their souls in a miserable captivity. From thence we passed through Winnoxburg, Ipre, Gaunt, Courtray, to Bruxells, where the ambassador had newly sate down before us. That noble gentleman in whose company I travelled, was welcomed with many kind visitations. Amongst the rest there came to him an English gentleman, who having run himself out of breath in the inns of court, had forsaken his country, and therewith his religion, and was turned both bigot and physician, residing now in Bruxells. This man after few interchanges of compliment with sir Edmund Bacon fell into an hyperbolical predication of the wonderful miracles done newly by our lady at Zichem, or Sherpen heavell, that is Sharp hill; by Lipsius *Apricollis;* the credit whereof when that worthy knight wittily questioned, he avowed a particular miracle of cure wrought by her upon himself. I coming into the room in the midst of this discourse (habited not like a divine, but in such colour and fashion as might best secure my travel) and hearing my countryman's zealous and confident relations, at last asked him this question, "sir" (quoth I) "Put case this report of yours be granted for true, I beseech you teach me what difference there is betwixt these miracles which you say are wrought by this lady, and those which were wrought by Vespasian, by some vestals, by charms and spells; the rather for that I have noted, in the late published report of these miracles, some patients prescribed to come upon a Friday, and some to wash in such a well before their approach; and divers other such charm-like observations." The gentleman not expecting such a question from me, answered, "Sir, I do not profess

profess this kind of scholarship, but we have in the city many famous divines, with whom if it would please you to confer, you might sooner receive satisfaction". I asked him whom he took for the most eminent divine of that place: he named to me father Costerus, undertaking that he would be very glad to give me conference, if I would be pleased to come up to the Jesuits College. I willingly yielded. In the afternoon the forward gentleman prevented his time to attend me to the father, (as he styled him,) who (as he said) was ready to entertain me with a meeting. I went alone up with him; the porter shutting the door after me, welcomed me with a *Deo gratias.* I had not stayed long in the Jesuits hall, before Costerus came in to me, who after a friendly salutation, fell into a formal speech of the unity of that church, out of which is no salvation, and had proceeded to lose his breath, and labour, had not I (as civilly as I might) interrupted him with this short answer; "Sir, I beseech you mistake me not. My nation tells you of what religion I am. I come not hither out of any doubt of my professed belief, or any purpose to change it, but moving a question to this gentleman, concerning the pretended miracles of the time, he pleased to refer me to yourself for my answer, which motion of his I was the more willing to embrace, for the fame that I have heard of your learning and worth; and if you can give me satisfaction herein, I am ready to receive it." Hereupon we settled to our places, at a table in the end of the hall, and buckled to a farther discourse. He fell into a poor and unperfect account of the difference of divine miracles and diabolical; which I modestly refuted: from thence he slipped into a cholerick invective against our church, which (as he said) could not yield one miracle; and

and when I answered, that in our church, we had manifest proofs of the ejection of devils by fasting and prayer, he answered that if it could be proved, that ever any devil was dispossessed in our church, he would quit his religion. Many questions were incidently traversed by me; wherein I found no satisfaction given me. The conference was long and vehement; in the heat whereof, who should come in but father Baldwin, an English jesuit, known to me, as by face (after I came to Brussels) so much more by fame. He sate down upon a bench at the further end of the table, and heard no small part of our dissertation, seeming not too well apaid, that a gentleman of his nation, (for still I was spoken to in that habit, by the stile of *dominatio vestra*) should depart from the Jesuits College no better satisfied. On the next morning therefore he sends the same English physician to my lodging, with a courteous compellation, professing to take it unkindly, that his countryman should make choice of any other, to confer with, than himself, who desired both mine acquaintance and full satisfaction. Sir Edmund Bacon, in whose hearing the message was delivered, gave me secret signs of his utter unwillingness to give way to my further conferences, the issue whereof (since we were to pass further, and beyond the bounds of that protection) might prove dangerous. I returned a mannerly answer of thanks to father Baldwin; but for any further conference, that it were bootless. I could not hope to convert him, and was resolved, he should not alter me, and therefore both of us should rest where we were.

Departing from Brussels we were for Namur's, and Liege. In the way we found the good hand of God, in delivering us from the danger of free-booters, and of a nightly entrance (amidst a suspicious

convoy) into that bloody city. Thence we came to the Spadane waters, where I had good leisure to add a second century of meditations [2] to those I had published before my journey. After we had spent a just time at those medicinal wells, we returned to Liege, and in our passage up the river Mosa, I had a dangerous conflict with a Sorbonist, a prior of the Carmelites, who took occasion by our kneeling at the receipt of the eucharist, to persuade all the company of our acknowledgment of a transubstantiation. I satisfied the cavil, shewing upon what ground [3] this meet posture obtained with us: the man grew furious upon his conviction, and his vehement associates began to join with him, in a right down railing upon our church, and religion. I told them they knew where they were: for me, I had taken notice of the security of their laws, inhibiting any argument held against their religion established, and therefore stood only upon my defence, not casting any aspersion upon theirs, but ready to maintain our own; which though I performed in as fair terms as I might, yet the choler of those zealots was so moved, that the paleness of their changed countenances, began to threaten some perilous issue, had not sir Edmund Bacon, both by his eye, and by his tongue, wisely taken me off. I subduced myself speedily from their presence, to avoid further provocation: the prior began to bewray some suspicions of my borrowed habit, and told them, that himself had a green satin suit once prepared for his travels into England, so as I

[2] *Century of meditations.*] See meditations and vows, century the third, dedicated to sir Edmund Bacon. Works. Vol. I. p. 37—38. edit. 1634.

[3] *Upon what ground.*] See Rubrics subjoined to the order for Administration of the Holy Communion, in the Book of Common Prayer.

found

found it needful for me, to lie close at Namur; from whence travelling the next day towards Brussels in the company of two Italian captains, Seignior Ascamo Negro and another whose name I have forgotten; who enquiring into our nation and religion, wondered to hear that we had any baptism or churches in England. The congruity of my Latin, (in respect of their perfect barbarism) drew me and the rest into their suspicion, so as I might overhear them muttering to each other, that we were not the men we appeared: straight the one of them, boldly exprest his conceit, and together with this charge, began to enquire of our condition. I told them that the gentleman he saw before us, was the grandchild of that renowned Bacon, the great chancellor of England, a man of great birth and quality, and that myself, and my other companion, travelled in his attendance to the Spa, from the train, and under the privilege of our late ambassador; with which just answer I stopped their mouths.

Returning through Brussels we came down to Antwerp, the paragon of cities; where my curiosity to see a solemn procession on St. John Baptist's day might have drawn me into danger (through my willing unreverence[4]) had not the hulk of a tall

[4] *Willing unreverence.*] When Dr. Edward Pocock, the great oriental scholar, was on his return from Constantinople, in the year 1640, during some stay which he made at Genoa, there was (as he would often tell his friends) "On a certain day, a religious procession, which went through the streets with all the ceremonial pomp, that is usual on such occasions. And as he stood in a convenient place, to take a view of it, he was surprized with the discourse of some persons, at a little distance, who talked in Arabic. They were a couple of slaves in chains, who being confident that nobody could understand the language they spake in, expressed their opinions of what they

tall Brabanter, behind whom I stood in a corner of a street, shadowed me from notice. Thence down the fair river of Scheld, we came to Flushing, where upon the resolution of our company to stay some hours, I hasted to Middleburgh to see an ancient college. That visit lost me my passage; ere I could return, I might see our ship under sail for England. The master had with the wind altered his purpose, and called aboard with such eagerness, that my company must either away, or undergo the hazard of too much loss. I looked long after them in vain, and sadly returning to Middleburgh waited long, for an inconvenient and tempestuous passage.

After some year and half, it pleased God unexpectedly to contrive the change of my station [5]. My means were but short at Halsted; yet such as I often professed, if my then patron would have added but one ten pounds by year, (which I held to be the value of my detained due) I should never have removed. One morning as I lay in my bed, a strong motion was suddenly glanced into my thoughts of going to London. I rose and betook me to the way. The ground that appeared of that purpose, was to speak with my patron sir Robert

they saw, with all manner of freedom. And as they rallied the pageantry they beheld, with a great deal of wit, so from it they took occasion to ridicule christianity itself, and to load it with contempt. So unhappy has the church of Rome been in her practices on the Christian religion: for whilst to serve some worldly designs, she hath laboured to engage the minds of the vulgar sort by empty shews and superstitious solemnities, she hath by those corrupt additions, exposed what is infinitely rational, wise and good to the laughter and reproach of Infidels." Twells's Life of Pocock, p. 18, prefixed to Pocock's Theological Works. Vol. I.

5 *The change of my station.*] See Epistles, Decad. 1. Epist. 9.

Drury,

Drury, if by occasion of the public preachership of St. Edmunds Bury, then offered me upon good conditions, I might draw him to a willing yieldance of that parcel of my due maintenance, which was kept back from my not over-deserving predecessor. Who hearing my errand, dissuaded me from so ungainful a change, which had it been to my sensible advantage, he should have readily given way unto; but not offering me the expected encouragement of my continuance; with him I stayed and preached on the Sunday following. That day sir Robert Drury, meeting with the lord Denny, fell belike into the commendation of my sermon. That religious and noble lord had long harboured good thoughts concerning me, upon the reading of those poor pamphlets which I had formerly published; and long wished the opportunity to know me. To please him in this desire, sir Robert willed me to go, and tender my service to his lordship, which I modestly and seriously deprecated; yet upon his earnest charge went to his lordship's gate, where I was not sorry to hear of his absence.

Being now full of cold and distemper in Drury-lane, I was found out by a friend, in whom I had formerly no great interest, one Mr. Gurrey tutor to the earl of Essex. He told me how well my Meditations were accepted at the prince's court; (P. Henry) and earnestly advised me to step over to Richmond, and preach to his highness. I strongly pleaded my indisposition of body, and my inpreparation for any such work, together with my bashful fears, and utter unfitness for such a presence. My averseness doubled his importunity; in fine, he left me not till he had my engagement to preach the Sunday following at Richmond. He made way for me to that awful pulpit, and encouraged me by the

favour of his noble lord the earl of Essex. I preached: through the favour of my God, that sermon was not so well given as taken; in so much as that sweet prince signified his desire to hear me again the Tuesday following; which done, that labour gave more contentment than the former; so as that gracious prince, both gave me his hand and commanded me to his service. My patron seeing me (upon my return to London) looked after by some great persons, began to wish me at home, and told me that some or other would be snatching me up. I answered it was in his power to prevent. Would he be pleased to make my maintenance, but so competent as in right it should be, I would never stir from him. Instead of condescending, it pleased him to fall into an expostulation of the rate of competencies, affirming the variableness thereof, according to our own estimation, and our either raising or moderating the causes of our expences. I showed him the insufficiency of my means; that I was forced to write books to buy books: shortly, some harsh and unpleasing answer so disheartened me that I resolved to embrace the first opportunity of my remove.

Now whilst I was taken up with these anxious thoughts, a messenger (it was sir Robert Wingfield of Northampton's son) came to me from the lord Denny, (now earl of Norwich) my after most honourable patron, entreating me from his lordship to speak with him. No sooner came I thither, than after a glad, and noble welcome, I was entertained with the earnest offer of Waltham. The conditions were like the mover of them, free and bountiful. I received them, as from the munificient hand of my God; and returned full of the cheerful acknowledgments of a gracious providence over me. Too late now did my former

noble patron relent, and offer me those terms which had before fastened me for ever. I returned home happy in a new master and in a new patron; betwixt whom, I divided myself and my labours, with much comfort and no less acceptation.

In the second year of mine attendance on his highness, when I came for my dismission from that monthly service, it pleased the prince to command me a longer stay; and at last upon mine allowed departure, by the mouth of sir Thomas Challoner, his governor, to tender unto me a motion of more honour and favour than I was worthy of; which was, that it was his highness pleasure, and purpose, to have me continually resident at the court as a constant attendant, whilst the rest held on their wonted vicissitudes; for which purpose his highness would obtain for me such preferments as should yield me full contentment. I returned my humblest thanks, and my readiness to sacrifice myself to the service of so gracious a master, but being conscious to myself of my unanswerableness to so great expectation, and loth to forsake so dear and noble a patron, who had placed much of his heart upon me, I did modestly put it off, and held close to my Waltham; where in a constant course, I preached a long time, (as I had done also at Halstead before) thrice in the week; yet never durst I climb into the pulpit, to preach any sermon, whereof I had not before in my poor, and plain fashion, penned every word in the same order, wherein I hoped to deliver it, although in the expression I listed not to be a slave to syllables.

In this while my worthy kinsman, Mr. Samuel Barton archdeacon of Glocester, knowing in how good terms I stood at court, and pitying the miserable condition of his native church of Wolverhampton, was very desirous to engage me in

so difficult and noble a service as the redemption of that captivated church. For which cause he importuned me to move some of my friends, to solicit the dean of Windsor, (who by an ancient annexation is patron thereof,) for the grant of a particular prebend, when it should fall vacant in that church. Answer was returned me, that it was fore-promised to one of my fellow chaplains. I sate down without further expectation. Some year or two after, hearing that it was become void, and meeting with that fellow chaplain of mine; I wished him much joy of the prebend. He asked me if it were void: I assured him so; and telling him of the former answer delivered to me in my ignorance of his engagement, wished him to hasten his possession of it. He delayed not. When he came to the dean of Windsor, for his promised dispatch, the dean brought him forth a letter from the prince, wherein he was desired, and charged to reverse his former engagement (since that other chaplain was otherwise provided for) and to cast that favour upon me. I was sent for, (who least thought of it) and received the free collation of that poor dignity. It was not the value of the place, (which was but nineteen nobles *per annum*) that we aimed at, but the freedom of a goodly church, (consisting of a dean and eight prebendaries competently endowed) and many thousand souls, lamentably swallowed up by wilful recusants, in a pretended fee-farm for ever. O God, what an hand hadst thou in the carriage of this work! when we set foot in this suit (for another of the prebendaries joined with me) we knew not wherein to insist, nor where to ground a complaint, only we knew that a goodly patrimony was by sacrilegious conveyance detained from the church. But in the pursuit of it such marvellous light opened

itself unexpectedly to us, in revealing of a counterfit seal, found in the ashes of that burned house of a false register; in the manifestation of rasures, and interpolations, and misdates of unjustifiable evidences, that after many years suit, the wise and honourable lord chancellor Ellesmere upon a full hearing, adjudged these two sued-for prebends, clearly to be returned to the church, untill by common law, they could (if possibly) be revicted. Our great adversary sir Walter Leveson, finding it but loss and trouble to struggle for litigious sheaves, came off to a peaceable composition with me of 40l. *per annum* for my part, whereof ten should be to the discharge of my stall in that church, till the suit should by course of common law be determined. We agreed upon fair wars. The cause was heard at the kings bench barr; where a special verdict was given for us. Upon the death of my partner in the suit, (in whose name it had now been brought) it was renewed; a jury empannelled in the county; the foreman (who had vowed he would carry it for sir Walter Leveson howsoever) was before the day, stricken mad, and so continued; we proceeded with the same success we formerly had; whilst we were thus striving, a word fell from my adversary, that gave me intimation, that a third dog would perhaps come in, and take the bone from us both; which I finding to drive at a supposed concealment [6], happily prevented

[6] *A supposed concealment.*] "When Monasteries were dissolved, and the lands thereof, and afterwards Colleges, Chaunteries and Fraternities were all given to the crown, some demesnes here and there pertaining thereunto, were still *privily retained*, and possessed by certain private persons, or corporations, or churches. This caused the Queen (*Elizabeth*) when she understood it, to grant commissions to some persons

vented, for I presently addressed myself to his majesty, with a petition for the renewing the charter of that church; and the full establishment of the lands, rights, liberties, thereto belonging; which I easily obtained from those gracious hands. Now sir Walter Leveson, seeing the patrimony of the church so fast and safely settled: and misdoubting what issue those his crazy evidences would find at the common law, began to incline to offers of peace, and at last drew him so far, as that he yielded to those two many conditions, not particularly for myself, but for the whole body of all those prebends which pertained to the church; first that he would be content to cast up that fee-farm, which he had of all the patrimony of that church, and disclaiming it, receive that which he held of the said church by lease, from us the several prebendaries, for term, whether of years, or (which he rather desired) of lives. Secondly that he would raise the maintenance, of every prebend, (whereof some were but forty shillings, others three pounds, others four, &c.) to the yearly value of thirty pounds to each man, during the said

sons to *search after these concealments*, and to retrieve them to the crown. But it was a world to consider, what unjust oppressions of the people, and the poor, this occasioned, by some griping men that were concerned therein. For under the pretence of executing commissions for inquiry to be made for these *lands concealed*, they, by colour thereof, and without colour of comission, contrary to all right, and to the Queen's meaning and intent, did intermeddle and challenge lands of long time possessed by church wardens, and such-like, upon the charitable gifts of predecessors, to the common benefit of the parishes . . . Further they attempted to make titles to lands, possessions, plate, and goods, belonging to Hospitals and such-like places, used for maintenance of poor people; with many such other unlawful attempts and extortions." Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*. Vol. 2. p. 209. See also Strype's *Life of Parker*. p. 368—369, 405, 489.

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term of his lease; only for a monument of my labour and success herein, I required that my prebend might have the addition of ten pounds *per annum*, above the fellows. We were busily treating this happy match for that poor church; sir Walter Leveson was not only willing but forward; The then dean Mr. Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, gave both way and furtherance to the dispatch; all had been most happily ended, had not the scrupulousness, of one or two of the number, deferred so advantageous a conclusion. In the mean while sir Walter Leveson dies, leaves his young orphan ward to the king; all our hopes were now blown up: an office was found of all those lands; the very wonted payments were denied, and I called into the court of wards, in fair likelyhood, to forego my former hold, and yielded possession: but there, it was justly awarded by the lord treasurer, then master of the wards, that the orphan could have no more, no other right than the father. I was therefore left in my former state, only upon public complaint of the hard condition wherein the orphan was left, I suffered myself to be over-intreated, to abate somewhat of that evicted composition: which work having once firmly settled, in a just pity of the mean provision, if not the destitution of so many thousand souls, and a desire, and care, to have them comfortably provided for in the future, I resigned up the said prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that great and long neglected people; which he hath hitherto performed, with great mutual contentment and happy success.

Now during this 22 years which I spent at Waltham;

tham; thrice was I commanded and employed abroad by his majesty in public service.

First in the attendance of the right honourable earl of Carlile, (then lord viscount Doncaster) who was sent upon a noble embassay, with a gallant retinue into France; whose entertainment there, the annals of that nation will tell to posterity. In the midst of that service was I surprized with a miserable distemper of body; which ended in a *diarrhœa biliosa,* not without some beginnings and further threats of a dissentery; wherewith I was brought so low, that there seemed small hope of my recovery. Mr. Peter Moulin (to whom I was beholden for his frequent visitations) being sent by my lord embassador, to inform him of my estate, brought him so sad news thereof, as that he was much afflicted therewith, well supposing his welcome to Waltham could not but want much of the heart without me. Now the time of his return drew on, Dr. Moulin, kindly offered to remove me, upon his lordship's departure, to his own house, promising me all careful attendance. I thanked him, but resolved, if I could but creep homewards to put myself upon the journey. A litter was provided, but of so little ease, that Simeon's penitential lodging, or a malefactor's stocks, had been less penal. I crawled down from my close chamber into that carriage, *In qua videbaris mihi efferri, tanquam in sandapila,* as Mr. Moulin wrote to me afterward; that misery had I endured in all the long passage, from Paris to Dieppe, being left alone to the surly muleteers, had not the providence of my good God brought me to St. Germains, upon the very setting out of those coaches, which had stayed there upon that morning's entertainment of my lord ambassador. How glad was I that I might change my seat, and my company. In the way, beyond all expectation,

expectation, I began to gather some strength; whether the fresh air, or the desires of my home revived me, so much, and so sudden reparation ensued, as was sensible to myself, and seemed strange to others. Being shipped at Dieppe the sea used us hardly, and after a night, and a great part of the day following, sent us back well wind-beaten, to that bleak haven whence we set forth, forcing us to a more pleasing land passage, through the coasts of Normandy and Picardy; towards the end whereof, my former complaint returned upon me, and landing with me, accompanied me to, and at my long desired home. In this my absence, it pleased his majesty, graciously, to confer upon me the deanry of Worcester[7], which being promised to me before my departure, was deeply hazarded whilst I was out of sight, by the importunity and underhand working of some great ones. Dr. Field the learned and worthy dean of Giocester, was by his potent friends put into such assurances of it, that I heard where he took care for the furnishing that ample house. But God fetched it about for me, in that absence and nescience of mine; and that reverend, and better deserving divine, was well satisfied with greater hopes; and soon after exchanged this mortal estate, for an immortal and glorious.

Before I could go down through my continuing weakness, to take possession of that dignity, his majesty pleased to design me to his attendance into Scotland[8]; where the great love, and respect that I found, both from the ministers, and people, wrought me no small envy, from some of our

[7] *Deanry of Worcester.*] In the year 1616. Le Neve's *Fasti* p. 310.

[8] *Into Scotland.*] See Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud.* p. 73—75, 78—79.

own. Upon a commonly received supposition, that his majesty would have no further use of his chaplains, after his remove from Edinborough, (for as much as the divines of the country, whereof there is great store and worthy choice, were allotted to every station) I easily obtained, through the solicitation of my ever honoured lord of Carlile, to return with him before my fellows. No sooner was I gone, than suggestions were made to his majesty of my over plausible demeanour and doctrine to that already prejudicate people, for which his majesty, after a gracious acknowledgment of my good service there done, called me upon his return to a favourable and mild account; not more freely professing what informations had been given against me, than his own full satisfaction, with my sincere and just answer; as whose excellent wisdom well saw, that such winning carriage of mine could be no hinderance to those his great designs. At the same time his majesty having secret notice, that a letter was coming to me from Mr. W. Struther, a reverend and learned divine of Edinborough, concerning the five points[9], then proposed, and urged to the church of Scotland, was pleased to impose upon me an earnest charge, to give him a full answer in satisfaction to those his modest doubts; and at large to declare my judgment concerning those required observations,

[9] *The five points.*] "Afterwards called the five Articles of Perth. The articles at large are to be found in the histories of those times: but in short they contained (1) the kneeling at the communion. (2) private communion at sick people's request. (3) Private Baptism. (4) Confirmation of Children. (5) Observation of Festivals." *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.* p. 162. A. D. 1717. See also Spotswood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland.* fol. 539. Heylin's *Life of Laud.* p. 78. The king's design in these measures was to bring the Church of Scotland to an uniformity with that of England.

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which I speedily performed with so great approbation of his majesty, that it pleased him to command a transcript thereof, as I was informed, publicly to be read in their most famous University; the effect whereof his majesty vouchsafed, to signifie afterwards, unto some of my best friends, with allowance beyond my hopes.

It was not long after, that his majesty finding the exigence of the affairs of the Nether-landish churches to require it, both advised them to a synodical decision, and by his incomparable wisdom, promoted the work. My unworthiness was named for one of the assistants of that honourable grave and reverend meeting, where I failed not of my best service to that woefully distracted church. By that time I had stayed some two months there, the unquietness of the nights, in those garrison towns, working upon the tender disposition of my body, brought me to such weakness through want of rest, that it began to disable me from attending the synod, which yet as I might, I forced myself unto as wishing that my zeal could have discountenanced my infirmity; wherein the mean time, it is well worthy of my thankful remembrance, that being in an afflicted and languishing condition, for a fortnight together with that sleepless distemper, yet it pleased God, the very night before I was to preach the latin sermon [1] to the synod,

[1] *The Latin Sermon.*] See Hales's *Golden Remains.* p. 381. &c. The best account of the proceedings of this far-famed Synod of Dort may be found in the letters of the ever-memorable John Hales of Eton College, printed in his *Golden Remains.* See particularly the Latin edition of those letters, published by Mosheim at Hamburgh. A. D. 1724. The *Canons* of this synod are inserted in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum;* and the *Acts* were printed at Leyden 1620 in fol°: See also Limborch's *Life of Episcopius*, Fuller's *Church Hist.* Book

synod, to bestow upon me such a comfortable refreshing of sufficient sleep, as, whereby my spirits were revived, and I was enabled with much vigour and vivacity to perform that service; which was no sooner done than my former complaint renewed upon me, and prevailed against all the remedies that the council of physicians could advise me unto; so as after long strife, I was compelled to yield unto a retirement (for the time) to the Hague, to see if change of place and more careful attendance, which I had in the house of our right honourable ambassador, the lord Carleton (now viscount Dorchester) might recover me. But when notwithstanding all means, my weakness increased so far, as that there was small likelihood left of so much strength remaining, as might bring me back into England, it pleased his gracious majesty, by our noble ambassador's solicitation, to call me off, and to substitute a worthy divine Mr. Dr. Goade in my unwillingly forsaken room. Returning by Dort, I sent in my sad farewel to that grave assembly, who by common vote sent to me the president of the synod, and the assistants, with a respective and gracious valediction; neither did the Deputies of my Lords the States neglect (after a very respectful compliment sent from them to me by Daniel Heinsius) to visit me; and after a noble acknowledgment of more good service from me, than I durst own, dismissed me with an honourable retribution, and sent after me a rich medal of gold, the portraiture of the synod, for a precious monument of their respects to my poor endeavours, who failed not whilest I was at the Hague,

Book 10. p. 77—86. Heylin's *Life of Laud.* p. 79. &c. Heylins *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 401. &c. Hickman's *Animadversions on Dr. Heylin.* p. 405—422. Toplady's *Historic Proof.* 605—636.

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to impart unto them my poor advice, concerning the proceeding of that synodical meeting. The difficulties of my return in such weakness were many and great; wherein, if ever, God manifested his special providence to me, in over-ruling the cross accidents of that passage, and after many dangers and despairs, contriving my safe arrival.

After not many years settling at home, it grieved my soul, to see our own church begin to sicken [2] of the same disease which we had endeavoured to cure in our neighbours. Mr. Montague's tart and vehement assertions, of some positions, near of kin to the Remonstrants of Netherland, gave occasion of raising no small broil in the church. Sides were taken, pulpits every where rang of these opinions; but parliaments took notice of the division, and questioned the occasioner. Now as one that desired to do all good offices to our dear and common mother, I set my thoughts on work, how so dangerous a quarrel might be happily composed; and finding that mis-taking was more guilty of this dissention, than mis-believing; (since it plainly appeared to me, that Mr. Montague meant to express, not Arminius [3], but bishop

[2] *Begin to sicken.*] See Fuller's *Church History.* Book 10. p. 119. &c. Heylin's *Life of Laud.* p. 124—127. Also Bishop Hall's *Way of Peace in the five busy Articles of Arminius.*

[3] *To express not Arminius.*] On this subject Montague shall best speak for himself. It would be well, if his wise and noble sentiments could make their due impression upon many shallow controversialists in our own days.

"I disavow the name and title of Arminian. I am no more Arminian than they are Gomarians; not so much in all probability. They delight, it seemeth, to be called after men's names; for anon they stick not to call themselves Calvinists; which title, though more honourable than Gomarian or Arminian,

bishop Overall, a more moderate and safe author, however he sped in delivery of him ;) I wrote a little project of pacification[4], wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men, concerninng this misapprehended controversy; shewing them the true parties in this unseasonable plea; and because bishop Overall went a midway, betwixt the two opinions which he held extreme, and must needs

minian, I am not so fond of, or doting upon, but I can be content to leave it unto those that affect it, and hold it reputation to be so instilled. I am not, nor would be accounted willingly Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran (names of division) but a Christian. For my faith was never taught by the doctrine of men. I was not baptized into the belief, or assumed by grace into the family of any of these, or of the Pope. I will not pin my belief unto any man's sleeve, carry he his head ever so high; not unto St. Augustin, or any ancient Father, *nedum* unto men of lower rank. A Christian I am, and so glory to be; only denominated of Christ Jesus my Lord and Master, by whom I never was as yet so wronged, that I would relinquish willingly that royal title, and exchange it for any of his menial servants. And further yet I do profess, that I see no reason why any member of the Church of England, a church every way so transcendant unto that of Leyden and Geneva, should lowt so low as to denominate himself of any the most eminent amongst them . . . .

" Again for Arminianism, I must and do protest before God and his angels, *idque in verbo sacerdotis, the time is yet to come that I ever read word in Arminius.* The course of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers: but from my first entrance to the study of Divinity, I balked the ordinary and accustomed by paths of Bastingius's *Catechism*, Fennar's *Divinity*, Bucanus's *Common Places*, Treicatius, Polanus, and such-like; and betook myself to scripture the rule of faith, interpreted by antiquity, the best expositor of faith, and applier of that rule: holding it a point of discretion, to draw water, as near as I could to the well-head, and to spare labour in vain, in running farther off, to cisterns and lakes. I went to *enquire*, when doubt was, *of the days of old*, as God himself directed me: and hitherto I have not repented me of it." Montague's *Appeal to Cæsar*. p. 10.

4 *A little project of pacification.*] *The way of Peace in the five busy articles commonly known by the name of Arminius.*

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therefore somewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet in these points, I gathered out of bishop Overall on the one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on the other, such common propositions concerning these five busy articles, as wherein both of them are fully agreed; all which being put together, seemed unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other questions moved here-abouts, appeared merely superfluous, and every moderate christian, might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction. These I made bold by the hands of Dr. Young the worthy dean of Winchester, to present to his excellent majesty, together with a humble motion of a peaceable silence to be enjoyned to both parts, in those other collateral, and needless disquisitions: which if they might befit the schools of academical disputants, could not certainly sound well from the pulpits of popular auditories. Those reconciliatory papers fell under the eyes of some grave divines on both parts. Mr. Montague professed that he had seen them, and would subscribe to them very willingly; others that were contrarily minded, both English, Scotish, and French divines, profered their hands to a no less ready subscription; so as much peace promised to result, out of that weak and poor enterprise, had not the confused noise of the misconstructions of those, who never saw the work, (crying it down for the very names sake) meeting with the royal edict of a general inhibition, buried it in a secure silence. I was scorched a little with this flame, which I desired to quench; yet this could not stay my hand from thrusting itself into an hotter fire.

Some insolent romanists (jesuits especially) in their bold disputations (which in the time of the treaty

treaty of the Spanish match[5], and the calm of that relaxation were very frequent,) pressed nothing so much, as a catalogue of the professors of our religion to be deduced from the primitive times, and with the peremptory challenge of the impossibility of this pedigree dazzled the eyes of the simple; whilst some of our learned men,[6] undertaking to satisfy so needless and unjust a demand, gave, as I conceived, great advantage to the adversary. In a just indignation to see us thus wronged by mis-stating the question betwixt us, as if we, yielding ourselves of an other church,

[5] *The Spanish match.*] "We have little news, either of *the great business*, or of any other, though messengers come weekly out of Spain: and I conceive that matters are yet very doubtful. The new chapel for the Infanta goes on in building, and our London Papists report, *that the Angels descend every night and build part of it.* Here hath been lately a conference between one Fisher a jesuite and one Sweete on the one side; and Dr. Whyte and Dr. Featly on the other. *The question was of the Antiquity and succession of the Church.* It is said we shall have it printed." Sir Henry Bourgchier to Usher, then bishop of Meath, dated July 14, 1623. Usher's *Life and Letters*. p. 89. See also Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 27.

[6] *Some of our learned men.*] The question which the Priests and Jesuits continually ingeminated was, "Where was your Church before Luther?" Of "*The learned men*," of whose mode of reply to this interrogatory the Bishop, not without solid reason, expresses his disapprobation; two I apprehend, were persons of no less dignity, than the English and Irish Primates of that day: the former, Dr. George Abbot, in his book of the *Visibility of the Church*, and the latter, Dr. James Usher, in his *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione et statu*. Abbot, as Dr. Dr. Heylin tells us, could not find any visibility of the Christian Church, but by tracing it, as well as he could, from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wickliffists, from the Wickliffists unto the Hussites, and from the Hussites unto Luther and Calvin (Life of Laud. p. 53.) whereas as Bishop Hall observes, "Valdus, Wickliffe, Luther did never go about to frame a new Church, which was not, but to cleanse, restore, reforme that Church which was."

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orginally and fundamentally different, should make good our own erection upon the ruins, yea, the nullity of theirs, and well considering the infinite and great inconveniences, that must needs follow upon this defence [7], I adventured to set my pen on work; desiring to rectify the opinions of those men, whom an ignorant zeal had transported, to the prejudice of our holy cause, laying forth the damnable corruptions of the Roman church, yet making our game of the outward visibility thereof, and by this means putting them to the probation of those newly obtruded corruptions which are truly guilty of the breach betwixt us; the drift whereof, being not well conceived, by some spirits [8],

[7] *Upon this defence.*] The bishop here alludes to the practices and judgment of Zanchius, Perkins, Whitaker &c. See *The Apologetical Advertisement.* Works, Vol. 2. fol.

[8] *By some spirits.*] Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, in that part of the famous Preface to his Sermons, bearing date July 13, 1657, in which he shews the advantages which the Puritan writers, gave to the Romish party by the unsoundness of their reasonings, and their extreme intolerance; and the much greater progress which Popery was making in England towards the latter end of the Commonwealth through their incapacity, than it had ever done before, remarks that " They promoted the interest of Rome and betrayed the Protestant Cause, partly by *mistaking the question* (a very common fault among them), but especially through the necessity of some *false principle* or other, which having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain . . . . Among those *false principles*, it shall suffice for the present to have named but this one, *That the Church of Rome is no true Church.* The disadvantages of which assertion to our cause in the dispute about *the visibility of the Church* (besides the falseness and uncharitableness of it) their zeal, or prejudice rather, will not suffer them to consider. With what out-cries was Bishop Hall, good man, (who little dreamt of *any peace with Rome*) pursued by Burton and other hot-spurs, for yielding it a Church! who had made the same concession over and over again before he was bishop (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best Controversy Writers generally do), and no notice taken, no noise made about it." P. 79, edit. 1689.

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that were not so wise as fervent, I was suddenly exposed to the rash censures of many well affected and zealous protestants, as if I had in a remission to my wonted zeal to the truth attributed too much to the Roman church, and strengthened the adversaries hands and weakened our own. This envy I was fain to take off by my speedy Apologetical Advertisement, and after that by my Reconciler, seconded with the unanimous letters of such reverend, learned, sound divines *, both bishops and doctors, as whose undoubtable authority, was able to bear down calumny itself. Which done I did by a seasonable moderation provide for the peace of the church, in silencing both my defendants and challengers, in this unkind and ill-raised quarrel.

Immediately before the publishing of this tractate, (which did not a little aggravate the envy and suspicion) I was by his majesty raised to the bishopric of Exeter [9], having formerly (with much humble deprecation) refused the see of Gloucester earnestly proffered unto me. How beyond all expectation it pleased God to place me in that western charge; which (if the duke of Buckingham's letters, he being then in France, had arrived but some hours sooner) I had been defeated of; and by what strange means it pleased God to make up the competency of that provision, by the unthought-of addition of the rectory of St. Breok within that diocese, if I should fully relate, the circumstances would force the confession of an extraordinary hand of God in the disposing of those events.

I entered upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some

* B. Morton, B. Davenant, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Primrose.

[9] *The bishopric of Exeter.*] He was consecrated Dec. 23. 1627. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p, 84.

that

that sate at the stern of the church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials; my ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge; finding therefore some factious spirits very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to win them to good order; and therein so happily prevailed, that (saving two of that numerous clergy, who continuing in their refractoriness fled away from censure,) they were all perfectly reclaimed; so as I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders (for I was never guilty of urging any new impositions) of the church in that large diocese. Thus we went on comfortably together, till some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of their own negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscionably forward, and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and directly at the court; complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knee to his majesty, to answer these great criminations; and what contestation I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this; under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was so sensible, that I plainly told the lord archbishop of Canterbury, that rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous

tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet. I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions. What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, I need not relate. Sure I am I had peace, and comfort at home, in the happy sense of that general unanimity, and loving correspondence of my clergy; till in the last year of my presiding there, after the synodical oath[1] was set on foot, (which yet I did never tender to any one minister of my diocese) by the incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour county, some of them began to enter into an unkind contestation with me, about the election of clerks of the convocation; whom they secretly, without ever acquainting me with their desire or purpose (as driving to that end which we see now accomplished) would needs nominate and set up in competition to those, whom I had (after the usual form) recommended to them. That they had a right to free voices in that choice, I denied not; only I had reason to take it unkindly, that they would work underhand without me, and against me; professing that if they had before hand made their desires known to me, I should willingly

[1] *The synodical oath.*] The oath contained in the sixth canon of 1640, called also the *etcetera* oath, the object of which was to declare an approbation of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, as containing *all things necessary to salvation*, "and an avowal *to maintain it against both papists and puritans.* But nothing raised so much noise and clamour as the oath required by the sixth canon; exclaimed against both from the pulpit and the press; reproached in printed pamphlets, and unprinted scribbles; and glad they were to find such an excellent advantage, as the discovering of an *&c.* in the body of it did unhappily give them." Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 443.

have

have gone along with them in their election. It came to the poll. Those of my nomination carried it. The parliament began. After some hard tugging there, returning home upon a recess I was met on the way, and cheerfully welcomed with some hundreds. In no worse terms, I left that my once dear diocese: when returning to Westminster, I was soon called by his majesty (who was then in the north) to a remove to Norwich [2]: but how I took the tower in my way: and how I have been dealt with since my repair hither, I could be lavish in the sad report, ever desiring my good God, to enlarge my heart in thankfulness to him, for the sensible experience I have had of his fatherly hand over me, in the deepest of all my afflictions, and to strengthen me, for whatsoever other trials, he shall be pleased to call me unto; that being found faithful unto the death, I may obtain that crown of life, which he hath ordained for all those that overcome.

[2] *To a remove to Norwich.*] He was elected, November 15, 1641.

A LETTER

SENT FROM THE TOWER

TO A

PRIVATE FRIEND;

AND BY HIM THOUGHT FIT TO BE PUBLISHED.

"*To my much respected good friend,* Mr. H. S.

"Worthy Sir,

"You think it strange[3], that I should salute you from hence; how can you choose, when I do yet still wonder to see myself here? My intentions, and this place are such strangers that I cannot enough marvel how they met. But, howsoever, I do in all humility kiss the rod wherewith I smart, as well knowing whose hand it is that wields it. To that infinite Justice who can be innocent? but to my king and country never heart was or can be more clear; and I shall beshrew my hand if it shall have (against my thoughts) justly offended either; and if either say so, I reply not; as having learned not to contest with those that can command legions.

"In the mean time it is a kind, but cold compliment, that you pity me; an affection well placed where a man deserves to be miserable; for me I am not conscious of such merit. You tell me in what fair terms I stood not long since with the world; how large room I had in the hearts of the

3 *You think it strange.*] In the introduction of this letter in this place, the editor has followed the example set him in the new and complete edition of the works of bishop Hall, published under the superintendence of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, B. D. in ten 8vo. volumes.

best

best men: but can you tell me how I lost it? Truly I have in the presence of God narrowly searched my own bosom; I have unpartially ransacked this fag-end of my life, and curiously examined every step of my ways, and I cannot by the most exact scrutiny of my saddest thoughts, find what it is that I have done to forfeit that good estimation wherewith you say I was once blessed.

"I can secretly arraign and condemn myself of infinite transgressions before the tribunal of heaven. Who that dwells in a house of clay can be pure in his sight, who charged his angels with folly? O! God, when I look upon the reckonings betwixt thee and my soul, and find my shameful arrears, I can be most vile in my own sight; because I have deserved to be so in thine; yet even then, in thy most pure eyes, give me leave the whiles, not to abdicate my sincerity. Thou knowest my heart desires to be right with thee, whatever my failings may have been; and I know what value thou puttest upon those sincere desires, notwithstanding all the intermixtures of our miserable infirmities. These I can penitently bewail to thee; but in the mean time, what have I done to men? Let them not spare to shame me with the late sinful declarations of my age; and fetch blushes (if they can) from a wrinkled face.

"Let mine enemies (for such I perceive I have, and those are the surest monitors) say what I have offended. For their better irritation, my conscience bids me boldly to take up the challenge of good Samuel, "*Behold here I am, witness against me before the Lord, and before his Anointed. Whose oxe have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.*"

"Can

"Can they say, that I bore up the reins of government too hard, and exercised my jurisdiction in a rigorous and tyrannical way, insolently lording it over my charge? Malice itself, perhaps, would, but dare not speak it; or if it should, the attestation of so numerous and grave a clergy would choak such impudence. Let them witness, whether they were not still entertained, with an equal return of reverence, as if they had been all bishops with me, or I only a presbyter with them; according to the old rule of Egbert archbishop of York, *Infra domum, Episcopus collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat.* Let them say whether aught here looked like despotical; or sounded rather of imperious command, than of brotherly complying; whether I have not rather from some beholders undergone the censure of a too humble remissness, as, perhaps, stooping too low beneath the eminence of episcopal dignity; whether I have not suffered as much in some opinions, for the winning mildness of my administration, as some others for a rough severity.

"Can they say (for this aspersion is likewise common) that I barred the free course of religious exercises, by the suppression of painful and peaceable preachers? If shame will suffer any man to object it, let me challenge him to instance but in one name. Nay the contrary is so famously known in the western parts, that every mouth will herein justify me. What free admission and encouragement, have I always given to all the sons of peace, that came with God's message in their mouths? What mis-suggestions have I waved? What blows have I born off in the behalf of some of them; from some gain-sayers? How have I often and publicly professed, that as well might we complain of

of too many stars in the sky, as too many orthodox preachers in the church?

"Can they complain, that I fretted the necks of my clergy, with the uneasy yoke of new and illegal impositions? Let them whom I have thus hurt blazon my unjust severity, and write their wrongs in marble; but if, disliking all novel devices, I have held close to those ancient rules which limited the audience of our godly predecessors; if I have grated upon no man's conscience by the pressure (no not by the tender) of the late oath[4], or any unprescribed ceremony; if I have freely in the committee, appointed by the honourable house of peers, declared my open dislike in all innovations, both in doctrine and rites; why doth my innocence suffer?

"Can they challenge me as a close and backstair friend to Popery or Arminianism, who have in so many pulpits, and so many presses, cried down both? Surely the very paper that I have spent in the refutation of both these, is enough to stop more mouths than can be guilty of this calumny.

"Can they check me with a lazy silence in my place, with infrequence of preaching? Let all the populous auditories where I have lived witness, whether having furnished all the churches near me with able preachers, I took not all opportunities of supplying such courses as I could get in my cathedral, and when my tongue was silent, let the world say whether my hand were idle.

"Lastly, since no man can offer to upbraid me with too much pomp, which is wont to be the common eye-sore of our envied profession; can

4 *The late oath.*] The *etcetra* oath. See note 1, above, p. 308.

any

any man pretend to a ground of taxing me (as I perceive one of late hath most unjustly done) of too much worldliness?

"Surely of all the vices forbidden in the decalogue, there is no one which my heart upon due examination can less fasten upon me than this. He that made it, knows, that he hath put into it a true disregard (save only for necessary use) of the world, and all that it can boast of, whether for profit, pleasure, or glory. No, no; I know the world too well to doat upon it. Whilst I am in it, how can I but use it? but I never care, never yield to enjoy it. It were too great a shame for a philosopher, a christian, a divine, a bishop, to have his thoughts groveling here upon earth; for mine they scorn the employment, and look upon all these sublunary distractions (as upon this man's false censure) with no other eyes than contempt.

"And now, sir, since I cannot (how secretly faulty soever) guess at my own public exorbitancies, I beseech you, where you hear my name traduced, learn of my accusers (whose lyncean eyes would seem to see farther into me than my own) what singular offence I have committed.

"If, perhaps, my calling be my crime; it is no other than the most holy fathers of the church in the primitive and succeeding ages, ever since the apostles, (many of them also blessed martyrs) have been guilty of: It is no other than all the holy doctors of the church in all generations, ever since, have celebrated, as most reverend, sacred, inviolable; it is no other than all the whole christian world, excepting one small handful of our neighbours (whose condition denied them the opportunity of this government) is known to enjoy without contradiction. How safe is it erring in such company.

"If

"If my offence be in my pen, which hath (as it could) undertaken the defence of that apostolical institution (though with all modesty and fair respects to the churches differing from us) I cannot deprecate a truth: and such I know this to be: which is since so cleared by better hands, that I well hope the better informed world cannot but sit down convinced, neither doubt I but that as metals receive the more lustre with often rubbing, this truth, the more agitation it undergoes, shall appear every day more glorious. Only, may the good Spirit of the Almighty speedily dispel all those dusky prejudices from the minds of men, which may hinder them from discerning so clear a light!

"Shortly then, knowing nothing by myself, whereby I have deserved to alienate any good heart from me, I shall resolve to rest securely upon the acquiting testimony of a good conscience, and the secret approbation of my gracious God; who shall one day cause mine innocence to break forth as the morning light, and shall give me beauty for bonds; and for a light and momentary affliction, an eternal weight of glory. To shut up all, and to surcease your trouble; I write not this, as one that would pump for favour and reputation from the disaffected multitude (for I charge you, that what passes privately betwixt us, may not fall under common eyes) but only with this desire and intention, to give you true grounds, where you shall hear my name mentioned, with a causeless offence, to yield me a just and charitable vindication. Go you on still to do the office of a true friend, yea, the duty of a just man; in speaking in the cause of the dumb, in righting the innocent, in rectifying the misguided; and lastly, the service of a faithful and christian patriot, in helping the times

with

with the best of your prayers; which is the daily task of your much devoted and thankful friend.

Jos. Norvic."

From the Tower,
Jan. 24, 1641.

BISHOP HALL'S HARD MEASURE.

Nothing could be more plain, than that upon the call of this parliament, and before, there was a general plot and resolution of the faction to alter the government of the church especially. The height and insolency of some church-governors, as was conceived, and the ungrounded imposition of some innovations[5] upon the churches both of Scotland and England gave a fit hint to the project. In the vacancy therefore before the Summons, and immediately after it, there was great working secretly for the designation and election as of knights and burgesses, so especially (beyond all former use) of the clerks of convocation; when now the clergy were stirred up to contest with, and oppose their diocesans, for the choice of such men as were most inclined to the favour of an alteration. The parliament was no sooner set, than many vehement speeches were made against established church-government, and enforcement of extirpation both root and branch. And because it was not fit to set upon all at once, the resolution was to begin with those bishops which had subscribed to the canons then lately published, upon the shutting up of the

[5] *Innovations.*] See Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 443, 445. Edit. 1671: and *Hist. of Nonconformity*, p. 345, or Baxter's Life, &c. p. 369.

former

former parliament; whom they would first have had accused of treason; but that not appearing feasible, they thought best to indite them of very high crimes and offences against the king, the parliament, and kingdom, which was prosecuted with great earnestness by some prime lawyers in the House of Commons, and entertained with like fervency by some zealous lords in the House of Peers; every of those particular canons being pressed to the most envious and dangerous height that was possible. The archbishop of York (was designed for the report) aggravating Mr. Maynard's criminations to the utmost, not without some interspersions of his own. The counsel of the accused bishops gave in such a demurring answer as stopped the mouth of that heinous indictment.

When this prevailed not, it was contrived to draw petitions accusatory from many parts of the kingdom against episcopal government, and the promoters of the petitions were entertained with great respects; whereas the many petitions of the opposite part, though subscribed with many thousand hands, were sleighted and disregarded. Withal, the rabble of London, after their petitions cunningly and upon other pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the Houses personally to crave justice both against the earl of Strafford firſt, and then against the archbishop of Canterbury, and lastly against the whole order of bishops; which coming at first unarmed were checked by some well-willers, and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords, and so accoutred came by thousands to the houses, filling all the outer rooms, offering foul abuses to the bishops as they passed, crying out *no bishops, no bishops;* and at last, after divers days assembling, grown to that height of fury, that many of them, whereof Sir Richard Wise-

man

man professed (though to his coft[6]) to be Captain, came with resolution of some violent courses, in so much that many swords were drawn hereupon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the lords. They still held firm both to the place and their bloody resolutions. It now grew to be torch-light. One of the lords, the marquis of Hartford, came up to the bishops' form, told us that we were in great danger, advised us to take some course for our own safety, and being desired to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the parliament house all that night; "for" (saith he) "these people vow they will watch you at your going out, and will search every coach for you with torches, so as you cannot escape." Hereupon the House of Lords was moved for some order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the House of Commons to this purpose more than once. Nothing was effected; but for the present (for so much as all the danger was at the rising of the house) it was earnestly desired of the lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some lords with a smile. Some other lords, as the earl of Manchester, undertook the protection of the archbishop of York and his company (whose shelter I went under) to their lodgings; the rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages escaped home.

[6] *To his cost.*] "Sir Richard Wiseman leading them, there was some fray about Westminster Abbey between the cavaliers, and them, and Sir Richard Wiseman was slain by a stone from off the abbey walls." Baxter's Life, &c. p. 27.

It was not for us to venture any more to the house without some better assurance. Upon our resolved forbearance, therefore, the archbishop of York sent for us to his lodging at Westminster; lays before us the perilous condition we were in; advises for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to desert our station in parliament) to petition both his majesty and the parliament, that since we were legally called by his majesty's writ to give our attendance in parliament, we might be secured in the performance of our duty and service against those dangers that threatened us; and withal to protest against any such acts as should be made during the time of our forced absence; for which he assured us there were many precedents in former parliaments, and which if we did not, we should betray the trust committed to us by his majesty, and shamefully betray and abdicate the due right both of ourselves and successors. To this purpose in our presence he drew up the said petition and protestation, avowing it to be legal, just and agreeable to all former proceedings; and being fair written sent it to our several lodgings for our hands; which we accordingly subscribed, intending yet to have had some further consultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it. But ere we could suppose it to be in any hand but his own, the first news we heard was, that there were messengers addressed to fetch us into the parliament upon an accusation of high treason. For whereas this paper was to have been delivered, first to his majesty's secretary, and after perusal by him to his majesty, and after from his majesty to the parliament, and for that purpose to the lord keeper, the lord Littleton, who was the speaker of the house of peers; all these professed not to have perused it at all, but the said lord keeper, willing enough

to

to take this advantage of ingratiating himself with the House of Commons and the faction, to which he knew himself sufficiently obnoxious, finding what use might be made of it by prejudicate minds, reads the same openly in the House of the Lords: and when he found some of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravates the matter as highly offensive, and of dangerous conquence; and thereupon not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is sent down to the House of Commons; where it was entertained hainously, Glynne with a full mouth crying it up for no less than an high treason; and some comparing, yea preferring it to the powder-plot.

We poor souls (who little thought that we had done any thing that might deserve a chiding) are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence. But now traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For on January 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower, only two of our number had the favour of the black rod by reason of their age, which though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be yielded, wherein I acknowlege, and bless the gracious Providence of God; for had I been gratified, I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expence beyond the reach of my estate. The news of this our crime and imprisonment soon flew over the city, and was entertained by our well-willers with ringing of bells

and

and bonfires; who now gave us up (not without great triumph) for lost men, railing on our perfidiousness, and adjudging us to what foul deaths they pleased. And what scurrile and malicious pamphlets were scattered abroad, throughout the kingdom, and in foreign parts, blazoning our infamy, and exaggerating our treasonable practises! what insultations of our adversaries was here!

Being caged sure enough in the Tower, the faction had now fair opportunities to work their own designs. They therefore taking the advantage of our restraint, renew that bill of theirs, (which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this session) for taking away the votes of bishops in parliament, and in a very thin house easily passed it: which once condescended unto, I know not by what strong importunity, his majesty's assent was drawn from him thereunto. We now instead of looking after our wonted honour must bend our thoughts upon the guarding of our lives, which were with no small eagerness, pursued by the violent agents of the faction. Their sharpest wits and greatest lawyers were employed to advance our impeachment to the height; but the more they looked into the business, the less crime could they find to fasten upon us: insomuch as one of their oracles, being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them, they might with as good reason accuse us of adultery. Yet still there are we fast, only upon petition to the lords obtaining this favour, that we might have counsel assigned us; which after much reluctation, and many menaces from the commons, against any man of all the commoners of England that should dare to be seen to plead in this case against the representative body of the commons, was granted us. The lords assigned us five very

worthy lawyers, which were nominated to them by us. What trouble and charge it was to procure those eminent and much employed counsellors to come to the Tower to us, and to observe the strict laws of the place, for the time of their ingress, regress, and stay, it is not hard to judge. After we had lien some weeks there, however the house of Commons, upon the first tender of our impeachment had desired we might be brought to a speedy trial, yet now finding belike how little ground they had for so high an accusation, they began to slack their pace, and suffered us rather to languish under the fear of so dreadful arraignment. In so much as now we are fain to petition the lords that we might be brought to our trial. The day was set; several summons were sent unto us: the lieutenant had his warrant to bring us to the bar; our impeachment was severally read; we pleaded not guilty, *Modo & forma*, and desired speedy proceedings, which were accordingly promised, but not too hastily performed. After long expectation another, day was appointed for the prosecution, of this high charge. The lieutenant brought us again to the bar; but with what shoutings and exclamations and furious expressions of the enraged multitudes, it is not easy to apprehend. Being thither brought and severally charged upon our knees, and having given our negative answers to every particular, two bishops, London and Winchester, were called in as witnesses against us, as in that point, whether they apprehended any such cause of fears in the tumults assembled, as that we were in any danger of our lives in coming to the parliament; who seemed to incline to a favourable report of the perils threatened, though one of them was convinced out of his own mouth, from the relations himself had made at the archbishop of York's lodging. After this Wild and Glyn made fearful

fearful declamations at the bar against us, aggravating all the circumstances of our pretended treason to the highest pitch. Our counsel were all ready at the bar to plead for us in answer of their clamorous and envious suggestions; but it was answered, that it was now too late, we should have another day, which day to this day never came.

The circumstances of that day's hearing were more grievous to us than the substance; for we were all thronged so miserably in that strait room before the bar, by reason that the whole House of Commons would be there to see the prizes of their champions played, that we stood the whole afternoon in no small torture; sweating and struggling with a merciless multitude, till being dismissed we were exposed to a new and greater danger. For now in the dark we must to the Tower, by barge as we came, and must shoot the bridge with no small peril. That God, under whose merciful protection we are, returned us to our safe custody.

There now we lay some weeks longer, expecting the summons for our counsel's answer; but instead thereof our merciful adversaries, well finding how sure they would be foiled in that unjust charge of treason, now under pretences of remitting the height of rigour, waive their former impeachment of treason against us, and fall upon an accusation of high misdemeanors in that our protestation, and will have us prosecuted as guilty of a *premunire*: although as we conceive the law hath ever been in the parliamentary proceedings, that if a man were impeached, as of treason, being the highest crime, the accusant must hold him to the proof of the charge, and may not fall to any meaner impeachment upon failing of the higher. But in this case of ours it fell out otherwise; for although the lords had openly promised us, that nothing should be

done against us, till we and our counsel were heard in our defence, yet the next news we heard was, the House of Commons had drawn up a bill against us, wherein they declared us to be delinquents of a very high nature, and had thereupon desired to have it enacted that all our spiritual means should be taken away: Only there should be a yearly allowance to every bishop for his maintenance, according to a proportion by them set down; wherein they were pleased that my share should come to 400l. per annum. This bill was sent up to the lords and by them also passed, and there hath ever since lain.

This being done, after some weeks more, finding the Tower besides the restraint, chargeable, we petitioned the lords that we might be admitted to bail; and have liberty to return to our homes. The earl of Essex moved, the lords assented, took our bail, sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for our discharge. How glad were we to fly out of our cage! No sooner was I got to my lodging, than I thought to take a little fresh air, in St. James's park; and in my return to my lodging in the Dean's yard, passing through Westminster-hall, was saluted by divers of my parliament acquaintance, and welcomed to my liberty. Whereupon some that looked upon me with an evil eye ran into the house, and complained that the bishops were let loose; which it seems was not well taken by the House of Commons, who presently sent a kind of expostulation to the lords, that they had dismissed so heinous offenders without their knowledge and consent. Scarce had I rested me in my lodging when there comes a messenger to me with the sad news of sending me and the rest of my brethren the bishops back to the Tower again; from whence we came, thither we must go; and thither I went with an heavy (but I

thank God not impatient) heart. After we had continued there some six weeks longer, and earnestly petitioned to return to our several charges, we were upon 5000l. bond dismissed, with a clause of revocation at a short warning, if occasion should require. Thus having spent the time betwixt new-year's Eve and Whitsuntide in those safe walls, where we by turns preached every Lord's day to a large auditory of citizens, we disposed of ourselves to the places of our several abode.

For myself, addressing myself to Norwich, whither it was his majesty's pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect, than in such times I could have expected. There I preached the day after my arrival to a numerous and attentive people; neither was sparing of my pains in this kind ever since, till the times growing every day more impatient of a bishop, threatened my silencing. There though with some secret murmurs of disaffected persons, I enjoyed peace till the ordinance of sequestration came forth, which was in the latter end of March following. Then, when I was in hope of receiving the profits of the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of my family, were all my rents stopped and diverted, and in the April following came the sequestrators, viz. Mr. Sotherton, Mr. Tooly, Mr. Rawly, Mr. Greenewood, &c. to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of parliament they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal, and accordingly sent certain men appointed by them (whereof one had been burned in the hand for the mark of his truth,) to apprize all the goods that were in the house, which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures out of their curious inventory. Yea they would

would have apprized our very wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooly and Sheriff Rawley (to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point) declared their opinion to the contrary.

These goods, both library and houshold stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale. Much enquiry there was when the goods should be brought to the market; but in the mean time Mrs. Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators that whole sum which the goods were valued at; and was pleased to leave them in our hands for our use, till we might be able to repurchase them; which she did accordingly, and had the goods formally delivered to her by Mr. Smith, and Mr. Greenewood, two sequestrators. As for the books, several stationers looked on them, but were not forward to buy them; at last Mr. Cook, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay to them the whole sum whereat they were set, which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance that was allowed me for my maintenance. As for my evidences they required them from me. I denied them, as not holding myself bound to deliver them. They nailed, and sealed up the door, and took such as they found with me.

But before this, the first noise that I heard of my trouble was, that one morning, before my servants were up, there came to my gates one Wright, a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, threatening if they were not admitted, to break open the gates; whom I found at my first sight struggling with one of my servants for a pistol, which he had in his hand. I demanded his business

ness at that unseasonable time; he told me, he came to search for arms and ammunition, of which I must be disarmed. I told him I had only two muskets in the house, and no other military provision. He not resting upon my word searched round about the house, looked into the chests and trunks, examined the vessels in the cellar; finding no other warlike furniture, he asked me what horses I had, for his commission was to take them also. I told him how poorly I was stored, and that my age would not allow me to travel on foot. In conclusion he took one horse for the present, and such account of another, that he did highly expostulate with me afterwards, that I had otherwise disposed of him.

Now not only my rents present, but the arrearages of the former years, which I had in favour forborn to some tenants, being treacherously confessed to the sequestrators, were by them called for, and taken from me; neither was there any course at all taken for my maintenance. I therefore addressed myself to the committee sitting here at Norwich, and desired them to give order for some means, out of that large patrimony of the church, to be allowed me. They all thought it very just, and there being present Sir Thomas Woodhouse, and Sir John Potts, parliament men, it was moved and held fit by them and the rest, that the proportion which the votes of the parliament had pitched upon, viz. 400l. per annum, should be allowed to me. My lord of Manchester, who was then conceived to have great power in matter of these sequestrations, was moved herewith. He apprehended it very just and reasonable, and wrote to the committee here to set out so many of the manors belonging to this bishopric as should amount to the said sum of 400l. annually; which

was answerably done under the hands of the whole table. And now I well hoped, I should yet have a good competency of maintenance out of that plentiful estate which I might have had; but those hopes were no sooner conceived than dashed; for before I could gather up one quarter's rent, there comes down an Order from the committee for sequestrations above, under the hand of serjeant Wild the chairman, procured by Mr. Miles Corbet, to inhibit any such allowance; and telling our committee here, that neither they, nor any other had power to allow me any thing at all: but if my wife found herself to need a maintenance, upon her suit to the committee of Lords and Commons, it might be granted that she should have a fifth part, according to the ordinance, allowed for the sustentation of herself, and her family. Hereupon she sends a petition up to that committee, which after a long delay was admitted to be read, and an order granted for the fifth part. But still the rents and revenues both of my spiritual and temporal lands were taken up by the sequestrators both in Norfolk, and Suffolk, and Essex, and we kept off from either allowance or account. At last upon much pressing, Beadle the solicitor, and Rust the collector, brought in an account to the committee, such as it was; but so confused and perplexed, and so utterly imperfect, that we could never come to know what a fifth part meant: but they were content that I should eat my books by setting off the sum, engaged for them out of the fifth part. Mean time the synodals both in Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the spiritual profits of the diocese were also kept back, only ordinations and institutions continued a while. But after the Covenant was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both clergy and laity, my power

of

of ordination was with some strange violence restrained. For when I was going on in my wonted course (which no law or ordinance had inhibited) certain forward volunteers in the city, banding together, stir up the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs to call me to an account for an open violation of their Covenant. To this purpose divers of them came to my gates at a very unseasonable time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the bishop! Messages were sent to them to know their business. Nothing would satisfy them but the bishop's presence; at last I came down to them, and demanded what the matter was; they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me; I answered that I would know them better first: If they had any thing to say to me I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me from Mr. Mayor, and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the Covenant, in ordaining ministers; and withal required me to give in the names of those which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the Covenant. My answer was that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place, and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out that day, that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me and those whom I ordained out of the chapel by the ears.

Whiles

Whiles I received nothing, yet something was required of me. They were not ashamed after they had taken away, and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments, and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken, and took distresses from me upon my most just denial, and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing. Many insolences and affronts were in all this time put upon us. One while a whole rabble of volunteers come to my gates late, when they were locked up, and called for the porter to give them entrance, which being not yielded, they threatened to make by force, and had not the said gates been very strong they had done it. Others of them clambered over the walls, and would come into mine house; their errand (they said) was to search for delinquents. What they would have done I know not, had not we by a secret way sent to raise the officers for our rescue. Another while the sheriff Toftes, and alderman Linsey, attended with many zealous followers came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures, and relics of idolatry, and sent for me, to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished! I told them they were the pictures of some antient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that they were so many popes; and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might with the least loss, and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence, which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be

taken

There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenewood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason; what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, when in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the green-yard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market place: a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church! Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordonance to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this guild-day to have the cathedral now open on all sides to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayors return, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse.

Still

taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend.

Still yet I remained in my palace though with but a poor retinue and means; but the house was held too good for me: many messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence. The first pretence was, that the committee, who now was at charge for an house to sit in, might make their daily session there, being a place both more public, roomy, and chargeless. The committee after many consultations resolved it convenient to remove thither, though many overtures and offers were made to the contrary. Mr. Corbet was impatient of my stay there, and procures and sends peremptory messages for my present dislodging. We desired to have some time allowed for providing some other mansion, if we must needs be cast out of this, which my wife was so willing to hold, that she offered, (if the charge of the present committee house were the things stood upon) she would be content to defray the sum of the rent of that house of her fifth part; but that might not be yielded; out we must, and that in three weeks warning, by midsummer-day then approaching, so as we might have lain in the street for ought I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us.

This hath been my measure, wherefore I know not; Lord thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression.

JOS. NORVIC.

Scripsi, May 29, 1647.

SHORTLY

SHORTLY AFTER[7], this excellent bishop retired to a little estate, which he rented at Higham near Norwich; where, notwithstanding the narrowness of his circumstances, he distributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life, September 8, 1656, aged 82 years; and was buried *in the churchyard* of that parish, without any memorial; observing in his will, "I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints."

He is universally allowed to have been a man of incomparable piety, meekness, and modesty, having a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning.

A writer* observes of him that "he may be said to have died with the pen in his hand. He was commonly called our English Seneca, for his pure, plain, and full stile. Not ill at *controversies*, more happy at *comments*, very good in his *characters*, better in his *sermons*, best of all in his *meditations*."

[7] *Shortly after.*] This conclusion is transcribed from the notes to an edition of this *life*, &c. prefixed to an edition of bishop Hall's *Contemplations*, published A. D. 1759, by the Rev. Wm. Dodd.

* England's Worthies, p. 441.

Doctor HENRY HAMMOND.

In these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion.—But I delight not to observe the correspondencies of such sad accidents: they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantaftic and groundless comfort. I will therefore deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others. I shall only crave leave, that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and œconomy of her priests and levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion, that went not out by day nor by night. These were the pleasures of our peace; and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights, which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. *And it may be so again, when* it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; *and when* men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant to the destroying of such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following account of Dr. Henry Hammond is a republication of *The Life of the most learned, reverend and pious Dr. H. Hammond, written by John Fell, D. D. Dean of Christ Church in Oxford; the second edition; London,* 1662; of which the first edition came out in the year preceding.

DOCTOR HENRY HAMMOND.

DOCTOR HENRY HAMMOND, whose life is now attempted to be written, was born upon the eighteenth of August in the year 1605, at Chertsey in Surry, a place formerly of remark for Julius Cæsar's supposed passing his army there over the Thames, in his enterprise upon this island; as also for the entertainment of devotion in its earliest reception by our Saxon ancestors; and of later years, for the charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate prince king Henry VI.

He was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond physician to prince Henry; and from that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations, had the honour at the Font to receive his christian name.

Nor had he an hereditary interest in learning only from his father; by his mother's side he was allied both unto it and the profession of theology, being descended from Dr. Alexander Nowel, the reverend dean of St. Paul's, that great and happy instrument of the reformation, and eminent light of the English church.

Being yet in his long coats, (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of infancy [1],) he was sent to Eton school; where his pregnancy, having

[1] *The years of infancy.*] "*When about seven years old*" (it is related of Williams, afterwards Archbishop of York, the

antagonist

having been advantaged by the more than paternal care and industry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek), became the observation of those that knew him: for in that tenderness of age he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some knowledge in the elements of Hebrew: in the latter of which tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of grammar schools, he grew the tutor of those who began to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused then acquired; or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother-tongue. His skill in the Greek was particularly advantaged by the conversation and kindness of Mr. Allen, one of the fellows of the College, excellently seen in that language, and a great assistant of sir Henry Savile in his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom.

His sweetness of carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observed that he was never engaged (upon any occasion) into fights or quarrels; as also that at times allowed for play, he would steal from his fellows [2] into places

antagonist and rival of Archbishop Laud, that) "He took a leap, *being then in long coats*, from the walls of Conway town to the sea shore, looking that the wind, which was then very strong, would fill his coats like a sail, and bear him up, as it did with his play fellows: but he found it otherwise——." Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 8. This was about the year 1590.

[2] *Steal from his fellows.*] The *place*, and the engagements of this school-boy remind us of the narrative given by the pious and amiable Dr. Henry More, of his own early years. "Being bred up, to the almost fourteenth year of my age, under parents, and a master, that were great Calvinists, but withal, very pious and good ones; at that time, by the order of my parents, persuaded to it by my uncle, I immediately went to *Eton* school;

places of privacy, there to say his prayers: omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion.

Which

school; not to learn any new precepts or institutes of religion, but for the perfecting of the Greek and Latin tongue. But neither there nor yet any where else, could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning Fate. On the contrary, I remember that upon those words of Epictetus, Ἄγε με ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη, *lead me, O Jupiter, and thou fate*, I did, with my eldest brother, who then, as it happened, had accompanied my uncle thither, very stoutly, and earnestly for my years, dispute against this Fate or Calvinistical predestination, as it is usually called: and that my uncle, when he came to know it, chid me severely; adding menaces withal of correction, and a rod for my immature forwardness in philosophizing concerning such matters. Moreover, that I had such a deep aversion in my temper to this opinion, and so firm and unshaken a persuasion of the divine justice and goodness; that, on a certain day, in a ground belonging to Eton College, where the boys used to play, and exercise themselves, musing concerning these things with myself, and recalling to my mind this doctrine of Calvin, I did thus seriously and deliberately conclude within myself, namely, *If I am one of those that are predestinated unto Hell, where all things are full of nothing but cursing and blasphemy, yet will I behave myself there patiently and submissively towards God: and if there be any one thing more than another, that is acceptable to him, that will I set myself to do, with a sincere heart, and to the utmost of my power* . . . . which meditation of mine, is as firmly fixed in my memory, and the very place where I stood, as if the thing had been transacted but a day or two ago.

" And as to what concerns the existence of God, though in that ground mentioned, walking, as my manner was, slowly, and with my head on one side, and kicking now and then the stones with my feet, I was wont sometimes with a sort of musical and melancholick manner to repeat, or rather humm to myself those verses of Claudian;

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
Curarent Superi terras; an nullus inesset
Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu:

Oft

Which softness of temper his schoolmaster Mr. Bush, who upon his father's account had a tender kindness for him, looked upon with some jealousy; for he building upon the general observation, that gravity and passiveness in children is not from discretion but phlegm, suspected that his scholar's faculties would desert his industry, and end only in a laborious well-read non-proficiency: but the event gave a full and speedy defeat to those well-meant misgivings; for he so improved that at thirteen years old he was thought, and (what is much more rare) was indeed ripe for the university, and accordingly sent to Magdalen College in Oxford, where not long after he was chosen Demy; and, though he stood low upon the roll, by a very unusual concurrence of providential events, happened to be sped: and though, having then lost his father, he became destitute of the advantage which potent recommendation might have given, yet his merit voting for him, as soon as capable, he was chosen fellow.

Being to proceed master of arts, he was made reader of the natural philosophy lecture in the college, and also was employed in making the funeral oration on the highly meriting president Dr. Langton.

> Oft hath my anxious mind divided stood,
> Whether the Gods did mind this lower world;
> Or whether no such ruler, wise and good,
> We had; and all things here by chance were hurled;

yet that exceeding hale and intire sense of God, which nature herself had planted deeply in me, very easily silenced all such slight and poetical dubitations as these. Yea even in my just childhood, an inward sense of the divine presence was so strong upon my mind, that I did then believe, there could no deed, word or thought be hidden from him." *Life of the learned and pious Dr. Henry More by Richard Ward* A. M. London 1710. 8vo. p. 5.

Having taken his degree, he presently bought a system of divinity, with a design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts he returned for a time to human learning, and afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual [3], beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossest by the contrived and interested

[3] *Too much usual.*] "To such an absolute authority were the names and writings of some men advanced by their diligent followers, that not to yield obedience to their *ipse dixits*, was a crime unpardonable.

"It is true King James observed the inconvenience, and perscribed a remedy, sending *Instructions to the Universities*, bearing date Jan. 18. anno. 1616, wherein it was directed amongst other things, that *young students in divinity should be excited to study such books as were most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England; and to bestow their time in the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies; and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of their study.* And I conceive that from that time forwards the names and reputations of some leading men of the *Foreign Churches*, which till then carried all before them, did begin to lessen; divines growing daily more willing to free themselves from that servitude and vassalage, to which the authority of those names had inslaved their judgments.—About those times it was, that I began my studies in divinity; and thought no course so proper and expedient for me, as the way commended by K. James . . . . For though I had a good respect both to the memory of Luther, and the name of Calvin; as those whose writings had awakened all these parts of Europe out of the ignorance and superstition under which they suffered; yet I always took them to be men: men as obnoxious unto error, as subject unto human frailty, and as indulgent too to their own opinions, as any others whatsoever." Heylin's *Sum of Christian Theology*, in the address to the reader. 1673. fol. Compare also Life of Bishop Hall p. 301. note 3.

schemes

schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious, authors.

Anno 1629, being twenty four years of age, the statutes of his house directing, and the canons of the church then regularly permitting it, he entered into holy orders; and upon the same grounds not long after took the degree of bachelor in divinity, giving as happy proof of his proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular knowledge.

During the whole time of his abode in the University he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity, besides an exact dispatch of the whole course of philosophy, he read over in a manner all classic authors that are extant; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, *Scholia* and critical emendations, and drew up Indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book: all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perused his library.

In the year 1633. the reverend Dr. Frewen, the then president of his college, now lord arch-bishop of York, gave him the honour to supply one of his courses at the court; where the right honourable the earl of Leicester happened to be an auditor: he was so deeply affected with the sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the preacher thence, that the rectory of Pensehurst being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offered him the presentation: which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22. of August in the same year; and thenceforth from the scholastic retirements of an university life, applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have called the being buried in a living: and being to leave the house, he thought not fit

to

to take that advantage of his place, which from sacrilege, or selling of the founder's charity, was by custom grown to be prudence and good husbandry.

In the discharge of his ministerial function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only; (a performance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist) but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administring the sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighhours, visiting the sick, catechizing the youth.

As to the first of these, his *preaching*, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times[4], an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and and crude conceptions; but a rational and just

[4] *Rate of the times.*] Of Hammond's friend the learned Dr. Edward Pocock, the ornament and pride of his country, especially as an orientalist, we are told by his biographer, that as he avoided in his preaching "The shews and ostentation of learning; so he would not, by any means, indulge himself in the practice of those arts, which *at that time* were very common, and much admired by ordinary people. Such were distortions of the countenance and strange gestures, a violent and unnatural way of speaking, and *affected words and phrases*, which being out of the ordinary way, were therefore supposed to express somewhat very mysterious, and in a high degree spiritual . . .

"His care not to amuse his hearers, with things which they could not understand, gave some of them occasion to entertain very contemptible thoughts of his learning and to speak of him accordingly. So that one of his Oxford friends, as he travelled through Childry, enquiring, for his diversion, of some people, who was their minister, and how they liked him, received from them this answer, *Our Parson is one Mr. Pocock, a plain, honest man; but Master*, said they, *he is no Latiner.*" Twells's *Life of Dr. Edward Pocock*, prefixed to Pocock's Theological Works. p. 22.

discourse,

discourse, that was to teach the priest as well as the lay-hearer. His method was (which likewise he recommended to his friends) after every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next lord's-day. Whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work: for, he said, be the subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducible unto the present purpose.

The offices of *prayer* he had in his church, not only upon the Sundays and festivals and their eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the appointment of the rubrick; (which strict duty and administration when it is examined to the bottom will prove the greatest objection against the liturgy; as that which, besides its own trouble and austerity, leaves no leisure for factious and licentious meetings at fairs and markets) but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays, and holy-day eves: for his assistance wherein he kept a curate, and allowed him a comfortable salary. And at those devotions he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance: which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his mother a woman of ancient virtue, and one to whom he paid a more then filial obedience.

As to the *Administration of the Sacrament*, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primititive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the offertory: wherein his instruction and happily-insinuating example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the

the poor. Nay, (if the report of a sober person born and bred up in that parish, be to be believed) in short time a stock was raised to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children, whose parents' condition made the provision for them an equal charity to both the child and parent. And after this there yet remained a surplusage for the assistance of the neighbour parishes.

For the *relief of the poor*, besides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the alms daily given at the door, he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain rate in money: and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-days returning in his year. Yet farther, another act of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the market-price: which though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage; was a great benefit to them, who besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a day's-work.

He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor, was no less *hospitable* to those of better quality: and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays; which seldom past at any time without bringing some of them his guests: but here beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a peculiar a allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the table inforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions, how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans

cans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples.

In accordance towhich his generous freedom in alms and hospitality, he farther obliged his parishioners in the setting of their tithes and dues belonging to him: for though he very well understood how prone men are to give complaints in payment, and how little obligation there is on him that lets a bargain to consider the casual loss, who is sure never to share in a like surplusage of gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his right, insomuch that having set the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the year; it happening that the profits were afterwards spoiled and carried away by a flood, he, when the tenant came to make his last payment not only refused it, but returned the former sum, saying to the poor man, "God forbid I should take the tenth where you have not the nine parts."

As by public admonition he most diligently instilled that great and fundamental doctrine of peace and love, so did he likewise in his *private address and conversation*, being never at peace in himself, till he had procured it amongst his neighbours; wherein God blest him, that he only attained his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual fate of reconcilers, gained them to himself: there having been no person of his function any where better beloved then he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more, we may take two instances: the one, that he being driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them [5] in

[5] *Bought them.*] Compare Life of Bishop Hall, p. 326.

his

his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war: the other, that during his abode at Pensehurst he never had any vexatious law dispute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judged the time of *sickness* an improper season for the great work of repentance; yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God himself exhorting to it: and therefore not only when desired made his visits to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his remove from Pensehurst, being at Oxford, and hearing of the sickness of one of his parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions which he judged useful in that exigent, and which he could not give at nearer distance.

For the *institution of youth* in the rudiments of piety, his custom was during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening-prayer in *catechising*, whereat the parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit than from his sermons. Where it may not be superfluous to observe that he introduced no new form of catechism, [6] but adhered to that of the church; rendering it fully intelligible to the meanest

[6] *No new form of Catechism.*] The later years of Queen Elizabeth, and the reign of King James, and, though in a less degree, that of King Charles, produced a vast multitude of Catechisms, written by independent and unauthorized individuals, which, for the most part were composed upon very narrow, and Calvinistical principles. In reference to some of these Dr. Thomas Jackson says, " In the mean time, I shall every day bless my Lord God, as for all others, so in particular for the

meanest capacities by his explanations. It may be useful withal to advert, that if in those times catechetical

the great blessing bestowed upon me, that I was in a convenient age, in a happy time and place, presented by my sureties in baptism, to ratify the vow which they made for me, and to receive the benediction of the bishop of the diocese; being first instructed in the Church's Catechism, by the Curate of the Parish, from whose lips (though but a mere Grammar scholar, and one that knew better how to read an Homily, or to understand Hemingius, or the Latin Postills, than to make a sermon, in English) I learned more good lessons, than I did from many popular sermons: and to this day remember more, than men of this time of greater years shall find in *many late applauded Catechisms.*" And a little afterwards: "Albeit the reverend fathers of our Church, and their suffragans, should use all possible care and diligence for performing of all that is on their parts required, yet without some *better conformity of Catechisms, and reformation of such as write them*, or preach doctrines conformable to them, there is small hope, that in such plenty of preachers, as now there are, this work of the Lord should prosper, half so well, as it did in those times and in those dioceses, wherein there were scarce ten able preachers, besides the prebendaries of the Cathedral Church under whose tution, in a manner the rest of the clergy were . . . . The writers then in most esteem were Melancthon, Bullinger, Hemingius (especially in Postills, and other *opuscula* of his), or other writers, who were most conformable to the Book of Homilies, which were weekly read upon severe penalty." Jackson's Works. Vol. 3. p. 273. In like manner Wren, bishop of Ely, in his *Answer to the Articles of Impeachment*, exhibited against him in the year 1641, by the House of Commons, for some alledged crimes and misdemeanors, saith, "That he did direct that the said catechizing should be according to the catechism of the Church of England only, which catechism is by the law of the land in the rubrics of the service-book proposed as the rule of examination for the bishop to go by, and is the best form that ever was compiled for laying the foundation and grounds of religion in the hearts and minds of unlearned christians. He considered also, *that the great variety of catechisms which every man did in former time thrust out at his pleasure*, did distract and corrupt the minds of the people, more than any thing else, sowing in them the seeds both of error and faction. And he conceived it an unreasonable

catechetical institution were very seasonable it will *now* be much more; when principles have been exchanged for dreams of words and notions; if not for a worse season of profane contempt of christian truth. But to return; besides all this, that there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able schoolmaster in the parish, which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of souls, he was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust: but repaired with a very great expence (the annual charge of 100l.) his parsonage-house; till from an incommodious ruin he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards.

While he was thus busy on his charge, though he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other purposes; and his humility recommended above all things privacy and retirement to him:

reasonable thing, that in the church any catechizing should be publickly practised, but according to the catechism which the Church of England in her liturgy alloweth. The due observation whereof was so far from *suppressing knowledge, or introducing ignorance,* that the defendant is humbly confident it produced the quite contrary effects. For some godly and laborious ministers (by name, as he remembereth, one Mr. Crackenthoym, then parson of *Burton Magna* in Suffolk, and another of his diocese neighbour with him, men otherwise unknown to this defendant) came to visit him, and told him, that they blessed God for the good, which upon half a year's experience they had found therein, professing that their people had sensibly profited more by this catechizing within that short space, for the true apprehending and understanding the grounds of religion, than they had done by their great and constant labours in preaching to them for some years before." Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 85.

yet

yet when the uses of the public called him forth, he readily obeyed the summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's Cross, and the visitations of his brethren the clergy, (a specimen whereof appears in print), as also at the cathedral church of Chichester, where by the unsought-for favour of the reverend father in God, Brian, then lord bishop of that see, since of Winchester, he had an interest, and had the dignity of arch-deacon: which at the beginning of the late troubles falling to him [7], he managed with great zeal and prudence; not only by all the charms of christian rhetoric, persuading to obedience and union, but by the force of demonstration, charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior clergy: wherein the eminent importance of the truths he would inforce so far prevailed over his otherwise insuperable modesty, that in a full assembly of the clergy, as he afterwards confessed, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory; and by the blessing of God, to which he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

In the year 1639, he proceeded doctor in divinity; his seniority in the university and employment in the church, and (what perchance was a more importunate motive) the desire of eleven of his friends and contemporaries in the same house, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, jointly persuading him to it.

His performance in the act, where he answered

[7] *falling to him.*] In the year 1643. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 66.

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the doctors, was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his hearers; a country-life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dextrous management of those exercises, which was an effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a member of the convocation called with the short parliament in 1640; as after this he was named to be of the assembly of divines; his invincible loyalty to his prince and obedience to his mother the church not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were on the other part, to have some title to him.

And now that conformity became a crime, and tumults improving into hostility and war, such a crime as had chastisements severe enough; though the committee of the country summoned him before them, and used those their best arguments of persuasion, threatenings and reproaches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of July 1643. At which time there being in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the king, and his doctrine and example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty; it being defeated, the good doctor (the malice of one who designed to succeed in his living being withal assistant) was forced to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner; to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in such an habit as that exigence made necessary for him; and whither not many days before his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the same errand. Which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the doctor afterwards frequently

 acknowledged,

acknowledged, was that which did most affect him of any that he felt in his whole life: amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that looked like such, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus: He thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day, when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he with the far less number to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestuous storm arose, with thundering and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might add unto a scene of horror; particularly balls of fire that shot themselves among the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party: when a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, "Be still, and ye shall receive no harm." Amidst these terrors the doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral anthem began, *Come, Lord Jesus, come away;* with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing of their duties; the which with much content he was used to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the quires of angels at the close of that land hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was only a faint emblem, he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy.

In this retirement the two doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict enquiry was made for doctor Hammond, and 100l. promised as a reward for him that should produce

him.

him. Which suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone; and Dr. Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the king's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news that doctor Frewen, president of Magdalen College, was made bishop of Litchfield, and that the college had pitched upon him as successor. This unlooked-for accident (as justly it might) put doctor Oliver to new counsels; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a relief, inclined him not to desert it, but fly rather to his preferments and advantage than merely to his refuge, and so to divert to Oxford. To this Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more considered, too far from his living, whither (his desires strongly inclining him) he had hopes (when the present fury was allayed) to return again; and to that purpose had wrote to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded; and encompassing Hampshire, with some difficulty came to Oxford; where procuring an apartment in his old college, he sought that peace in his retirement and study which was no where else to be met withal; taking no other diversion than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) and the sa-

tisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men, who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time for their security resorted thither.

Among the many eminent persons with whom he here conversed, he had particular intimacy with Dr. Potter, provost of Queen's College, to whom, among other fruits of his studies, he communicated his Practical Catechism, which for his private use he had drawn up. The provost, much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importuned him to make it public; alledging, in that lawless age the great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties; of silencing prophaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service; which was not any other way so happily to be done as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetic institution.

It was not hard to convince Dr. Hammond that it were well if some such thing were done; but that his writing would do this in any measure, or that he should suffer his name to become public, it was impossible to persuade him. The utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his treatise was not likely to do harm, but had possibilities of doing (it might be) some good, and that it would not become him to deny that service to the world; especially if his modesty might be secured from pressure by the concealing of him to be the author. And this doctor Potter, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withal the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of the edition. Upon these terms, only with this difference, that doctor Hammond would not suffer the provost to be

be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the Practical Catechism saw the light, and likewise the author remained in his desired obscurity.

But in the mean time the book finding the reception which it merited [8], the good doctor was by the same arguments constrained to give way to the publishing of several other tracts which he had written upon heads that were then most perverted by popular error, as of *Conscience*, of *Scandal*, of *Will-worship*, of *Resisting the lawful Magistrate*, and of the *Change of Church Government*; his name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumoured for the author, and as such published to the world by the London and Cambridge stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his works.

In the interim a treaty being laboured by his majesty, to compose (if it were possible) the unhappy differences in church and state, and in order thereunto the duke of Richmond and earl of South-

[8] *Which it merited.*] "King Charles I, in his last instructions to his children, recommended this among other eminent books, as a most safe and sound guide in religion: and his choice has been fully approved by his subjects. We see that while other Institutions of Christian Religion are in vogue for a time, and afterwards become antiquated and neglected, this rather grows than decays in its reputation, being composed with such solid learning, judgment, and piety, as will always endear it to serious persons of every rank and condition." Life of Dr. Hammond, prefixed to the Practical Catechism. "I also remember," (says Whiston in the Memoirs of his own Life. Vol. I. p. 10.) "what my father told me; that after the restoration, almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocrisy of the former times, had not two very excellent and serious books, written by eminent royalists, put some stop to it: I mean *The Whole Duty of Man*; and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism*."

ampton

ampton being sent to London, doctor Hammond went along as chaplain to them, where with great zeal and prudence he laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the treaty was solemnly appointed at Uxbridge, several divines being sent thither in behalf of the different parties, he, among other excellent men that adhered to the king, was made choice of to assist in that employment. And there (not to mention the debates between the commissioners, which were long since published by an honourable hand) doctor Steward and master Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other divines were called in: which thing was a surprize, and designed for such, to those of the king's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the lords, but was before projected and prepared for by those of the presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of doctor Hammond to have master Vines for his antagonist, who, instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from a paper a long divinity lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Doctor Hammond perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted; which, amidst the disadvantage of *extempore* against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him.

It is not the present work to give an account of that whole dispute, or character the merits of those worthy

worthy persons who were engaged in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings; especially since it was resolved by both parties that the transactions of neither side should be made public. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of truth or common honesty, have in this particular wounded the doctor's reputation, I shall take leave to say, that had the victories in the field, which were managed by the sword, been like this of the chamber and the tongue, a very easy act of oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secured from being remembered. The impudent falsity raised upon the doctor was this, that Mr. Vines utterly silenced him; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration, to swear by God and the holy angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the doctor's own account in a letter of his, bearing date Jan. 22, ann. 1655, directed to a friend who had advertised him of this report.

"I have formerly been told within these few years that there went about a story much to my disparagement, concerning the dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines; but what it was I could never hear before: now I do, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did never then, nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember) ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and his holy angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath that I know

I know of, (and sure there was then none imposed on me) and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you, but I cannot think it necessary. Only this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marshall in my own and brethren's name, to demand three things: 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer: 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation; offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent, after the manner of that between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart[9]: both which being rejected, the 3d. was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterwards published by either without the consent or knowledge of the other party. And that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted."

But while these things were in doing, a canonry in Christ Church in Oxford became vacant, which the king immediately bestowed [1] on doctor Hammond, though then absent; whom likewise the University chose their public orator: which preferments, though collated so freely, and in a time of exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old charge at Pensehurst. But the impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him,

[9] *And Mr. Hart.*] See above, Vol. IV. p. 198. note 7.

[1] *Immediately bestowed.*] This was in the year 1644. &c. Neve's *Fasti.* p. 234.

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he at last accepted; and was soon after made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.

But these new employments no way diverted him from his former tasks; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address remedies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of *Superstition, Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory;* as also in answer to a Romanist, who, taking advantage of the public ruin, hoped to erect thereon trophies to the Capitol, his *Vindication of the Lord Falkland,* who was not long before fallen in another kind of war.

But now the king's affairs declining every where, and Oxford being forced upon articles to surrender to the enemy, where after the expiration of six months all things were to be left to the lust and fury of a servile, and therefore insolent, conqueror; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, a leaguer of encamped inevitable mischiefs, yet he remitted nothing of his wonted industry, writing his tracts of *Fraternal Correption,* and *Power of the Keys,* and *Apologies by Letter* against the Pulpit calumnies of Mr. Cheynel, and the exceptions taken at his *Practical Catechism.*

In the mean time his sacred majesty, sold by his Scottish into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and denied that common charity which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of divines, though he with importunity desired it, he being taken from the parliament commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them [2] (who

[2] *That kindness from them.*] See Baxter's *Life and Times,* part I. p. 60. "While the King was at Hampton Court the mutable

(who were to be cruel at another rate) which was withheld by the two houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of doctor Hammond.

Accordingly the good doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Cavesham, and Hampton-Court, as also thence into the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas 1647; at which time his majesty's attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest.

Sequestred from this his melancholic but most desired employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being chosen sub-dean, an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of the college, and soon after proved to be the whole, (the

mutable hypocrites first pretended an extraordinary care of his honour, liberty, safety, and conscience. They blamed *the austerity of the Parliament, who had denied him the attendance of his own Chaplains;* and of his friends in whom he took most pleasure. They gave liberty for his friends and Chaplains to come to him: they pretended that they would save him from the incivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. Whether this were while they tried what terms they could make with him for themselves, or while they acted any other part; it is certain that the King's old adherents began to extol the Army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more distastefully than before. When the Parliament offered the King's propositions for concord, (which Vane's faction made as high and unreasonable as they could, that they might come to nothing) the Army forsooth offer him proposals of their own, which the King liked better: but which of them to treat with he did not know. *At last*, on *the sudden* the judgment of the army changed, and they began to cry for justice against the King; and with vile hypocrisy, to publish their repentance, and to cry God mercy for their kindness to the King, and confess *that they were under a temptation:* but in all this, Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of the Council of War appeared not: the instruments of all this work must be the common soldiers."

dean,

dean [3], for the guilt of asserting the rights of his Majesty and University in his station of vice-chancellor, being made a prisoner,) he undertook the entire management of all affairs, and discharged it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at divinity disputations, which was then an immediate part of his task, but in presiding at the more youthful exercises of sophistry, themes, and declamations; redeeming still at night these vacuities of the day, scarce ever going to bed till after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content itself in looking to the general performances of duty, but descended to an accurate survey of every one's both practice and ability; so that this large society of scholars appeared his private family, he scarce leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care, relieving the necessitous in their several wants of money and of books, shaming the vicious to sobriety, encouraging the ingenuous to diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study. But above all he endeavoured to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending persecution, that they might adorn their profession, and not at the same time suffer for a cause of righteousness, and as evil-doers.

To this end he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and beside that, received them to his weekly private office of fasting and humiliation.

[3] *The dean.*] Dr. Samuel Fell, father of Bishop Fell, the author of this Life of Dr. Hammond. See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 102.

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But now the long-expected ruin breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the visitors [4] chafed with their former disappointments and delays, coming with hunters' stomachs, and design to boot, for to seize first and then devour the prey, by a new method of judicature being to kill and then take possession, the excellent doctor became involved in the general calamity. And whereas the then usual law of expulsion was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum, enjoining to quit the town within 24 hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the dispose either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils; the reverend doctor Sheldon, now lord bishop of London, and dean of his majesty's chapel royal, and doctor Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an order from a committee of parliament were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the canonry of Christ Church, though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, acting as public orator in flattering there the then-pretending chancellor, yet he had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that infamous robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer who was commanded to take doctor Sheldon and him into custody upon their designed removal, colonel Evelin, then governor of Wallingford-Castle, (though a man of as opposite principles to

[4] *The Visitors.*] For a full account of the Oxford Visitation, see Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy.* Part I. p. 122—144.

church

church and churchmen as any of the adverse party) wholly declined the employment, solemnly protesting, that if they came to him they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

But these remorses proved but of little effect; the prebend of Christ Church being suddenly supplied by a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement: where accordingly the good doctor remained, though he were demanded by his majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight at the treaty there, which then was again reinforced. The pretence upon which both he and the reverend doctor Sheldon were refused was, that they were prisoners; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the excellent prince required that assistance which might consist with absence, and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place. The which sermon his majesty, and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions.

Doctor Hammond having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in Oxford, where he began to actuate his design of writing *Annotations* on the New Testament, (nor was it disproportionate that those sacred volumes, a great part of which was wrote in bonds, should be first commented upon by the very parallel suffering, and that the work itself should be so dedicated, and the expositor fitted for his task by being made like the author) by the interposition of his brother-in-law, sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his worthy friend sir Philip Warwick lived. Where soon after his arrival,

rival, that horrid mockery of justice, the rape and violence of all that is sacred, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety, the trial of the king, drew on; and he being in no other capacity to interpose than by writing, drew up an *Address* to the General and Council of Officers, and transmitted it to them. And when that unexampled VILLAINY found this excuse, that it was such as could be pleaded for, and men in cool blood would dare to own and justify, he affixed his Reply to the suggestions of Ascham and Goodwin. And now, although he indulged to his just and almost infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that glorious victim being added to the detestation due unto the guilt itself, of which no man was more sensible than he, who had strange antipathies to all sin, he gave not up himself to an unactive dull amazement, but with the redoubled use of fasting, tears, and solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies; and besides his fitting the *Annotations* for the press, and his little tract of the *Reasonableness of Christian Religion*, he now composed his Latin one against Blondel in the behalf of episcopacy. As to the first of which, (his *Annotations*,) the manner of its birth and growth was thus.

Having written in Latin two large volumes in quarto of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews and of the first heretics in the christian church, and of the heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred book:) he began to consider that it might be more

useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, observed the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being set down by his own pen in his preface to his *Annotations*.

The tractate against Blondel grew to its last form and constitution by not unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is owned, and long ago presented to the world in that writing; the more remote original is as follows. The late most learned primate of Armagh having received from David Blondel a letter of exception against his edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to doctor Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the Valentinian heresy, episcopal and chorepiscopal power, and some emergent difficulties concerning them, from the canons of several Eastern councils. To all this the doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the archbishop being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise; which being accordingly discharged, became the provision (and gave materials) to a great part of the dissertations. The primate's letter ran in these words:

"I have read with great delight and content your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius his Epistles, for which I do

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most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to intreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of *Nebulo* for the assertion of episcopacy: to the end it may no longer be credited abroad that these two have beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his Thesis of Church Government, at Sedan lately published; which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest,

Your very loving friend
and brother,

Ryegate in Surrey,
Jul. 21, 1649. JA. ARMACHANUS."

Now in this request the archbishop was so concerned, that he reinforced it by another letter of Aug. 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of Jan. 14. Both which, though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborne, as several of the like kind from the reverend fathers and bishops of this and our sister churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations: which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent doctor, who hated every thing that looked like ostentation; but likewise to avoid the very unpleasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the doctor's correspondencies, or bear the envy of omitting some.

But

But to return to the present task, and that of the good doctor, which now was to perfect his Commentaries on the New Testament, and finish the Dissertations: amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature, the loss of his dear mother, which had this unhappy accession, that in her sickness he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concerned in the proclamation that banished those that adhered to the king twenty miles from London, to visit her; nor while she paid her latest debt to nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage and attendance.

A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judged less commodious for enterprise) being taken off, he removed into Worcestershire, to Westwood, the house of the eminently loyal sir John Pakington; where being settled, and proceeding in the edition of those his labours which he had begun at Clapham, his majesty coming to Worcester, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good doctor, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his sovereign, and the honour to receive a letter from his own hand of great importance, for the satisfaction of his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the established religion of the Church of England, wherein his royal father lived a saint and died a martyr; so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat; to which was added the calamity which fell upon the family where he dwelt, from the persecution and danger of the generous master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance [5] of his sacred

[5] *Miraculous deliverance.*] See *True Narrative and Relation of his most Sacred Majesty's Escape from Worcester, on the 3d Sept.* 1651, *till his arrival at Paris.* Harleian Miscellany, &c.

majesty; a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allowed it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life, receiving that unusual interposition of Providence as a pledge from heaven of an arrier of mercies; to use his own words, "That God who had thus powerfully rescued him from Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the Wilderness; but though his passage be through the Red Sea, he would at last bring him into Canaan; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire, purified, but not consumed."

But notwithstanding these reflexions, bottomed upon piety and reliance upon heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes; and the generality of men thinking their religion as troublesome a burthen as their loyalty, with the same prudence by which they changed their mild and gracious sovereign for a bloody TYRANT, began to seek a pompous and imperious church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which event the Roman missionaries [6] gave their liberal contribution, affording

[6] *Roman missionaries.*] It seems a fact beyond dispute, that the evils of these unhappy times were inflamed and aggravated by the machinations of many Romish incendiaries; and that especially under the disguise of Fanatics and Agitators. In *Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation*, the following anecdote is related, in which Dr. Hammond bore a part.

"Mr. John Crooke, sometime bookseller at St. Paul's Church-yard, at the *Ship*, in London, and since stationer and printer to his most serene Majesty in Dublin, told this story following unto Sir James Ware, Knight, now deceased.

Anno 1656, the reverend divine Dr. Henry Hammond, being one day in the next shop to this said John Crooke's, and there reading the works of St. Ambrose, a red-coat casually came in, and looked over this Divine's shoulder, and there read the Latin

fording their prepostercus charity to make them proselytes who had no mind to be confessors or martyrs. Hereupon the doctor thought it highly seasonable to write his tract of *Schism*, and oppose it to that most popular topic whereby they amused and charmed their fond disciples. And whereas the love of novelty prevailed in several other instances, as in controlling the use and authority of the scripture, defending incestuous marriages, po

Latin as perfect as himself, which caused the Doctor to admire that a red-coat should attain to that learning. Then speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that science? The red-coat replied, "By the Holy Spirit." The Doctor hereupon replied, "I will try thee further:" and so called for a Greek author, which the red-coat not only read, but construed. The Doctor to try him further called for the Hebrew Bible; and so for several other books, in which this red-coat was very expert. At last the Doctor recollecting with himself, called for a Welch Bible, and said, "If thou beest inspired, read me this book, and construe it." But the red-coat being at last catched, replied, "I have given thee satisfaction enough: I will not satisfy thee further; for thou wilt not believe, though an angel came from heaven." The Doctor smelling out the deceit, caused the apprentice to go for a Constable; who being brought to the shop, the Doctor told the Constable, he had something to say against this red-coat; and bade him bring him before Oliver Cromwell, then called the Lord Protector. The red-coat being brought to White Hall, and examined, he, after a rustic manner, *thoued* and *theed* Oliver: but being suspected, it was demanded, where he quartered. It being found out, at the Devil Tavern, the Doctor intreated his chamber might be searched; where they found an old chest filled partly with his wearing apparel, as also with several papers, and seditious popish books; amongst which there being a pair of boots, and papers stuck in one of them, they found a parchment *bull of licence* to this impostor, granted under several names, *to assume what function or calling he pleased.* These being brought before Oliver; for what reasons it is unknown, yet the red-coat escaped; bringing several proofs of what great service he had done: and the greatest affliction which was laid on him, was banishment: and what proceeded further we know not." *Foxes*, &c. part 2. p. 101. edit. 1682.

lygamy, divorce, the anabaptizing of infants, the schismatical ordination of ministers by mere presbyters, and the disuse of the festivals of the church; he applied his antidotes to each: by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties. For (besides the assaults from a whole class of antagonists which the Dissertations had engaged against him, and to which he was preparing his defence,) upon the Romanists part he was charged by the Catholic Gentleman and his armour-bearer S. W.; on the presbyterian account by Mr. Cawdry and Mr. Jeanes; and in the behalf of the independents and anabaptists by master Owen and master Tombs: not to mention several others that sought themselves a name by being his gainsayers, but failed of their purpose, by bringing only spite and passion into the quarrel, and so were to be answered only by pity and silence.

Nor did he only stand and keep at bay this multiplied contest, but (as if this had not been task enough) besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of visits, answering of letters, his constant preaching and catechising, he found leisure to write his tract of *Fundamentals*, his *Paræneſis*, his *Review of the Annotations;* and amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate antagonists for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered. Nay more than so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognize their sense of their undue procedure used by them unto him: which their acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition; for in the entrance on these conflicts that strength of body which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable mind began to fail him, and

and those four torments of disease, which single have been judged a competent trial of human sufferance, the stone, the gout, the cholic, and the cramp, (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former) became in a manner the constant exercise of his christian fortitude and patience; affording him from this time to the end of his life very rare and short intervals of vigorous health.

But among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his *Paræenesis*, a persuasive and practical tract (which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires) cost him most throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink. For however with great serenity he entertained all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of submitting not to the will of God alone, but to his wisdom, both which he was used to say were perfectly one thing in that blest agent, (and accordingly in the most dismal appearance of event made this his constant motto, גם זו לטובה *Even for this good;*) yet in this instance the tenderness of his soul seemed to have melted his resolution: the occasion of that treatise being the interdict [7] of Jan. 1655, which disabled

[7] *The interdict.*] That Declaration, so far as it concerned the Clergy, was in these words.

" His Highness, by the advice of his Council, doth also publish, declare, and order, that as no person, or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses or families, as Chaplains, or Schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected Minister, fellow of a College, or Schoolmaster; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain

disabled the loyal suffering clergy from doing any ministerial act; which he resented with the highest passion; not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason

pain of being proceeded against &c. And that no person, who for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of this own family: nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending, in any the premises, shall be proceeded against as by the said orders is provided and directed." But the extreme cruelty of this Declaration seems to have prevented its being long and generally inforced. See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Part 1. p. 194. In reference to this interdict the following anecdote is told in Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher. p. 75. "According to the desires of many of the Episcopal Clergy, he went, and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised (though with some difficulty), that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his Government. But when the Lord Primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified, and put into writing, he found him under his Chirurgeon's hands, who was dressing a great boil which he had on his breast. So Cromwell prayed the Lord Primate to sit down a little; and that, when he was dressed, he would speak with him. Whilst this was a doing, Cromwell said to the Lord Primate, *If this core* (pointing to the boil) *were once out, I should quickly be well.* To which the good Bishop replied, *I doubt the core lies deeper. There is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well. Ah!* replied he, seeming unconcerned, *so there is indeed*, and sighed. But when the Lord Primate began to speak with him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect; that he had since better considered it, having advised with his Council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to Him and his Government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility."

to

to do) in reference to his own particular; he looking on this dispensation of Providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do him service, "the reproaching" (to use his own words) "his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as straw to the dunghill." Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was, made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the altar which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice, yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implored the aids of heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, by securing a succession to to the church, thereby to preserve its future being. And this he did not only in reference to the superior order of episcopacy, which it has pleased God now to secure by another more gracious method of his favour, and even miraculous goodness; but also in the inferior attendance on the altar: the latter of which as it was an enterprize suiting well with his heroic mind, so was it no way answering his narrow fortunes. The thing in his design was this: Whereas the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the church was at best like the Roman state in its first beginning, *res unius ætatis, populus virorum,* a nation of ancient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he

he projected by pensions unto hopeful persons in either University, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church. In which work though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable[8] in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge "carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts;" adding this as a certain maxim, "that exemplary virtue must restore the church."

[8] *Not inconsiderable.*] One of the persons upon whom a portion of this bounty was most deservedly bestowed was Isaac Barrow, afterwards the great precursor of Sir Isaac Newton, and the pride of the English pulpit; and another was the Rev. Clement Ellis, a divine whose writings in practical theology, for their eminent and fervent piety, for soundness of doctrine, and for a vigorous, unaffected, and manly style, have been very rarely surpassed; and deserve to be much more extensively known, than it is apprehended they now are, or ever have been.

"He received several donations towards his subsistence at Oxford from unknown hands; with anonymous letters to certify, that those sums were in consideration of his father's sufferings, and to encourage his progress in his studies. Several such presents and letters he had, both before and after his being in holy orders, without his knowing from whence they came: but after the restoration of the church and royal family, he had some reason to believe that they came from Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor and Dr. Hammond, being part of those collections of money, put into their hands by charitable and well-disposed persons, for the support and encouragement of suffering loyalty." Veneer's Account of the Life and Writings of Clement Ellis, M. A. prefixed to the work intitled, *The Scripture Catechist; or the whole Religion of a Christian.* 1738. 8vo. See also the Life of Dr. Isaac Barrow, prefixed to his Theological Works.

And

And whereas that black defeat at Worcester, raising the insolent tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him to be feared by foreign nations almost as much as hated by his own, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment, and even there expelled and driven from their flights: so paralleling in their exigencies the most immediate objects of that monster's fury. The excellent doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too straight a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity: accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief.

Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person entrusted, being discovered to the tyrant, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this, that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce monster concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, "that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties fared still best."

And this success as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of the divine providence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth

worth the doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of, and even his sacrilege preserved inviolate.

Nor did this danger being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the labours of this hero, the issue of his brain, being not only midwived into the world like natural births with torment and disease, but wrote, like Cæsar's Commentaries, in dangers and in war. And now besides the replies which the importunities of master Owen, master Jeanes, and master Tombs drew from him, W. S. continuing his loud clamours and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good doctor suffered himself to be engaged on that long answer, which proved the last of that kind he made, excepting that single sheet put out a few months before his death, as a specimen to what desperate shifts the patrons of the Roman cause were driven: for though some of his friends advised him to remit that divinity buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen, he by no means would admit of the proposal, resolving it unfit that another should do in his behalf what was indecent for himself to do; and though there was no respect to be had of W. S. yet was the sacred cause to be managed with reverence and awful regard. While this was in hand the second *Review of the Annotations* came to light, as also the *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, and soon after the pacific *Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees*, ventilated between

tween him and his dear friend the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, now lord bishop of Lincoln, occasioned by some letters which had passed on that subject between the said doctor and the reverend Dr. Pierce. To this immediately succeeded the Latin tract of *Confirmation*, in answer to the Exceptions of Mr. Daille, which was then prepared for the press, though detained much longer upon prudential or rather charitative considerations, a respect to which was strictly had in all the doctor's writings; it being his care not only to publish sober and convincing, but withal seasonable, useful truths.

He was likewise enterprizing a farther *Commentary on the Old Testament*, and began on the Book of Proverbs, and finished a third part of it: but the completion of this and all other the great intendments of the equally learned, pious, and indefatigable author, received here a full period; it pleasing the Divine Providence to take to himself this high example of all moral and christian excellencies in a season when the church and nation would least have been deprived of his aids towards the cementing of those breaches which then began to offer at a closure.

It is easily to be presumed the reader will not be disobliged, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken narrative, and entertain him with a survey of the personal accomplishments of the excellent doctor. The particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of history, or at least had been disjointed there, and under disadvantage; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light, when represented to the view by way of character and picture.

And therefore to this prospect we cheerfully invite all eyes in whose esteem virtue itself is lovely.

SECTION

SECTION THE SECOND.

The frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active soul, but equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, avoiding the extremes of gross and meagre, advantaged by a graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His face carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was quick and sprightful, his complexion clear and florid, so that (especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beauteous person; which was lessened only by the colour of his hair: though if the sentence of other ages and climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouched as an accession to it.

To this outward structure was joined that strength of constitution, patient of severest toil and hardship; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than at the greatest distance that he could, to look upon it. As to diseases (till immoderate study had wrought a change) he was in a manner only liable to fevers, which a too constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of body, if we survey his inward faculties, we shall find them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His sight was quick to an unsual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not

not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate and tuned to his harmonious soul, so that having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo, and frequently did so in his more vigorous years after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience: and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his voice, his late sacred majesty, by taking notice of the change, became his master of music, and reduced him to his ancient decent modulation; a kindness which the doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying day, and reported not only as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their faults, without which very commonly (as here it happened) men must be so far from amending their errors, that it is morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferior faculties, we must allow the first place to his *invention*, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his sermon: but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the

the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his amanuensis, though a very dexterous person, could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of present Necessity concerning Episcopacy* were drawn up [9] after ten of clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press: to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the before-mentioned lord bishop of Salisbury, now of Winchester, on that task. So likewise he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. And indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did. For he that shall consider his laborious way, immersed in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and consulting several editions were absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classic authors, but the more recent abortions of the presss, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers intended to be public; his review of his own works, and correcting them with

9 *Were drawn up.*] They consisted of fourteen pages in quarto of close and small printing.

his own hand sheet by sheet as they came forth, which he did to all his latter tracts; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their children, and chaplains in their houses, in which affair he had set up a kind of office of address; his general correspondencies by letter, whereof some cost him ten, others twenty, thirty, forty, nay sixty sheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely to themselves; the time exhausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his chair, or so much as read a letter for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly revenged by a fit of the gout; his not only constant preaching and instructing the family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the neigbourhood; but amidst all, his sure returns of prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day: he, I say, that shall compute and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth or flourish of expression, must be to seek what point of vacant time remained yet undisposed; I do not say to write books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

After a serious reflection on the premises, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before-recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satisfactory that possibly can be made; that he gained time for his writing books by the time he spent in prayer,

whilst

whilst (a more then ordinary assistance attending his devotions) his closet proved his library, and he studied most upon his knees.

As to his *memory*, 'twas serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words: which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart than to pen twenty.

His way of *speech* and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplusage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was incumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings: but by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his later years had mastered that defect, which was so slight, that notwithstanding it, he deserved from (the most accurate judge and greatest master of English rhetorick which this age hath given) his late sacred majesty, this character and testimony, "That he was the most natural orator he ever heard."

His *judgment*, as in itself the highest faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments: for though the finding out the similitudes of different things, wherein the fancy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in memory assists rather confusion than choice, upon which grounds the greatest clerks are frequently not the wisest men; he had, to his sufficient memory and incomparable invention, a clear and discerning judgment; and that not only in scholastical affairs and points

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of learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of his writings manifest beyond dispute, but in the concerns of public nature both of church and state, wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravelled the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of honour for whom he was entrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestic intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquired habits and abilities in *learning*, his writings having given the world sufficient account of them, there remains only to observe, that the range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole circle of the arts, and reached those severals, which single do exact an entire man unto themselves, and full age. To be accurate in the grammar and idioms of the tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern writers; to be studied in philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors; to be learned in school-divinity, and a master in church antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of fathers, councils, ecclesiastical historians and liturgicks; to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature and in diligence which has but few examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the doctor's learning was the least thing in him; the *scholar* was here less eminent then the *christian:* His speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practick. In the catalogue of his virtues, his *chastity* and *temperance* may claim

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the earliest place, as being the sacrists to the rest, and in him were therefore only not the greatest of his excellencies, because every thing else was so.

And first, his *chaste* thoughts, words and carriage so disciplined his lower faculties, as not only restrained through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution, (which his escape he gratefully referred unto the only mercy of Almighty God) but gave a detestation of all those verbal follies, that have not only the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humour; so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, than the approbation of a smile; and all approaches to this sin he looked upon not only with an utter disallowance in his will, but a kind of natural abhorrence and antipathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to Pensehurst he was persuaded by his friends that the matrimonial state was needful to the bearing off those houshold cares and other intercurrent troubles which his condition then brought with it; and on this ground he gave some ear to their advices: which he did then more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose virtue, as well as other more-usually-desired accomplishments, he had been long before well satisfied. But being hindered several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally laid down all his pretensions, upon a ground of perfect self-denial; being informed that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her. Having thus resolved, the charity of his mother, who undertook the manage of his family,

became

became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state; till after several years her age making those cares too great a burthen for her shoulders, he again was induced to resume his thoughts of marriage. But the national disturbances (that afterwards brake out in war and ruin) appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the Apostle's advice, (1 Cor. vii. 26.) enforced upon his thoughts by the reading of St. Jerom's Epistle to Agereuchia, where after glorious elogies of marriage, the father concluded in an earnest dehortation from it, upon a representation of a like face of things; the Goths then breaking into Italy, as they before had done into the other near parts of the Roman empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty and ruin. Upon which prospect the good doctor casting a serious eye, and with prophetic sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thenceforth courted and espoused (what he preserved inviolate) unto his death, the more eminent perfection of spotless virgin chastity.

His *appetite* was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary; for his diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often expressed it his wonder how rational creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the stone or gout, though a year after, therein unmanned himself, and acted as a beast. So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones; for considering the time lost in eating, and the vacancy succeeding it, his meals were the

greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he eat but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescript, as when his physicians, after his great fever that he had in Oxford, required him to eat suppers. Which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, until renewed infirmities brought him back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary. And herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of an higher choice, that he really thought no meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholesomeness: even his beloved apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of use. And if by chance or inadvertency he had at any time tasted of an interdicted dish, as soon as he perceived it, he discovered a dislike both with himself and what he had been surprized with.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating over-much: but certainly that practice had another more immediate cause, a na-

a natural distributiveness of humour, and a desire to be employed in the relief of every kind of want of every person. The report, and much more the sight, of a luxurious feeder would turn his stomach, so that he was in more danger to be sick with other's surfeits than his own; charity seeming a part of his complexion, while he performed a natural spontaneous penance for his neighbour's vice, as well as a deliberate one in sorrowing for it.

His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising. There was scarce any thing he resented so much in his infirmities and multiplied diseases as their having abridged him of his night-studies, professing thereby he lost not only his greatest pleasure, but highest advantage in reference to business. And in his later time of weakness, when to take benefit of a gentle breathing sweat, which usually came in the morning, he had been engaged by his physician to continue in bed till it was over; and upon complaint of costiveness he was on the other side directed to rise somewhat early in the morning; this latter injunction he looked upon as a mere rescue and deliverance, often mentioning it with thanks, as if it had been an eminent favour done him.

His disposal of himself in the other parts of *time* was to perpetual *industry and diligence:* he not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as to be furnished always with somewhat to do. This he proposed as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure; assuring that no burthen is more heavy or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lye on one's hand;

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the idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) the Devil's shop, but his kingdom too, a model of and an appendage unto hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief. Besides those portions of time which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself, as to obey the prescripts of his physician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing; by which one piece of husbandry in short space he dispatched several considerable volumes.

His way was still to cast into paper all his observations, and direct them to his present purposes; wherein he had an incredible dexterity, scarce ever reading any thing which he did not make subservient in one kind or other. He was used to say, "he could not abide to talk with himself," and therefore was so diligently provided of that which he called "better company." In his sicknesses, if they were not so violent to make the recollection of thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather re-inforced it then as the most appropriate revulsive and diversion of pain. The gout by its most frequent and importunate returns exceeded his other maladies; in which although the first most furious assaults were sure to beat him from his study, and for a time confine him to his bed, yet as soon as he had recovered his chair, he resumed his pen too, and plyed it as hard as though he had ailed nothing.

Next to downright idleness he disliked slow and dilatory undertakings, thinking it a great folly to spend that time in gazing upon business which should

should have served for the doing of it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not: when that was seen, he immediately set to work. When he had perfected one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

But when we reckon up and audit the expences of the doctor's time, we cannot pass his constant tribute of it paid by him to heaven in the offices of *prayer;* which took up so liberal proportions of each day unto itself for the ten last years of his life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready (which was usually early) he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose. After this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities: to this after a little distance succeeded the morning office of the church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body, and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five of the clock the solemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening service of the church returned. At bed-time his private prayers closed

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the day: and after all, even the night was not without its office, the LI. Psalm being his designed midnight entertainment.

In his prayers, as his attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervors, insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate on the earth; his tears also would interrupt his words: the latter happening not only upon the pungent exigencies of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of the church; which, notwithstanding his concealments, being taken notice of by a person of good sufficiency, once a member of his house in Oxford, that became of late years a proselyte to the new extemporary way, he, among his other topics whereby he thought to disparage set forms, used in discourse to urge the heartless coldness of them, and to adorn his triumph, would make it his solemn wonder how a person of so good parts as Dr. Hammond was certainly master of, could find motive for his tears[1] in the confession in the beginning of the liturgy. So much does passion and misguided zeal transport

[1] *Motive for his tears.*] "In the antient forms of the Church, and therefore in ours, which are mostly antient, there is a strength, an energy, a savour, an unction, I know not what to call it, not to be found in the composition of modern prayers, not even those (begging the pardon of the composers) which are premeditated, and drawn up with deliberation; and much less of others that are unpremeditated and extemporary. For instance, the *Te Deum* of St. Ambrose, which we, you know, have received into our Liturgy. For my own part, I am not yet, after more than the thousandth time of using it, tired with it: and now, when I rehearse it in the Church, am otherwise elevated and affected with the noble simplicity thereof, than, I am fully persuaded, I ever should be with the most trim, polite, or spirited orations of your popular and admired ministers, and much less with the flatter and coarser ones of many others. I may also instance in divers

transport the most sensible, that this man, otherwise sagacious enough, never considered how ill an instance he had made; which shewed it was the coldness of the votary, and not the prayer, that was in fault, whenever fervor was deficient at the public office of the church.

The charity and extent of his prayers was as exuberant as the zeal and fervour: he thought it very unreasonable that our intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's redemption was; and would complain of that thrift and narrowness of mind to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most to those little angles of the world that most immediately concerned us, and which on due account bear very low proportions to the whole. There was no emergent distress, however remote, but it enlarged his Litany; every year's harvest and new birth of mischiefs, which for several ones past constantly fell on the orthodox and loyal party in the nation, re-

divers other parts of our daily service, and in the whole of the communion office; which some of yourselves have allowed to be admirable, and I will venture to say none can use, though he had used it before ever so often, with any formality or deadness of spirit, unless he has a heart so frozen, and utterly estranged from all devotion, as to be incapable of being wrought up to it by any means whatever." *Letter concerning the popular Pleas of Dissenters*, by John White, B. D. p. 45. London. 1745. 8vo.

"Till this time" (says one, who was afterwards deservedly famous for his extemporary effusions, both in prayer and in preaching, the eminent Richard Baxter, speaking of his younger years) "I was satisfied in the matter of conformity. Whilst I was young I had never been acquainted with any that were against it, or that questioned it. I had joined with the Common Prayer *with as hearty fervency* as afterwards I did with other prayers. *As long as I had no prejudice against it*, I had no stop in my devotions from any of its imperfections." Baxter's *Life and Times*, part 1. p. 13.

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moved itself from the sanguinary edicts of the tyrant, to be transcribed and expiated by his pathetical office of devotion. In which calendar and rubrick the thirtieth of January was sure to have a very solemn place, and a peculiar service prepared for it.

Nor did he only take to heart general national concernments, but even the more private exigencies of the sick and weak had a staple interest in his prayers. Among all which none had so liberal a part as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most; his and (what was usually the same thing) the church's and God's enemies. He never thought he had assured his forgiveness of injuries, unless he returned good for them; and though other opportunities of this best kind of retaliation might fail him, that of his intercessions never did.

Three persons there were who above all men by unworthy malice and impotent virulence had highly disobliged him; but he in recompence of their guilt had a peculiar daily prayer purposely in their behalf: and though in the openness of his conversation with his most intimate acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the persons, though probably that was the only thing which he concealed; it being his method to withhold nothing, especially of confidence or privacy, from one he owned as friend.

And having mentioned the name of *friend*, however incidentally, we must not leave it without homage; *friendship* being the next sacred thing unto religion in the apprehensions of our excellent doctor, a virtue of which he was a passionate lover, and with which he ever seemed to have contracted friendship. The union of minds thereby produced he judged the utmost point of human happiness, the very best production that nature has in store,

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or grows from earth. So that with compassion he reflected on their ignorance who were strangers to it, saying that "such must needs lead a pitiful insipid herb-John-like life."

Upon this ground he used with all industrious art to recommend and propagate friendship unto others; and where he saw several persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual advantage, he would contrive that league; and where himself had kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him; besides, he still laboured to make all his friends endeared to each of them; resolving it to be an error bottomed on the common narrowness of soul which represented amity like sensual love, to admit no rivals, confined unto two persons.

When he ever happened to see or be in company with such as had an intimate and hearty kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the contemplation of it, and where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge that his satisfaction.

In the list and number of his friends there chanced to be three persons, who having in their youth contracted a strict intimacy, had undertaken the same profession; and accordingly had the same common studies and designments, and with these the opportunity through the late troubles to live in view of each other: whom for that reason he was used with an obliging envy to pronounce "the most happy men the nation had."

Accordingly he professed that for his particular "he had no such way of enjoying any thing as by reflection from the person whom he loved: so that his friend's being happy was the readiest way to make him so." Therefore when one eminently near

near to him in that relation was careless of health, his most pressing argument was his complaint of unkindness to him. And this way of measuring felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial instances: when there has been any thing at the table peculiarly wholesome in relation to his infirmities, if his friend, who was in a like weak condition, forbare to eat of it in civility to him, he would with vehemence of grief resent it as his singular unhappiness after so many professions not to be believed, "that he had a thousand times rather that his friend should have that which was conducible to health, than to have it himself;" and then assumed, "that if this were believed, it were impossible any one should attempt to express kindness by robbing him of his greatest pleasure."

The principal thing he contracted for in friendship was a free use of *mutual admonition;* which he confined not to the grosser guilts which enemies and common fame were likely to observe and mind men of, but extended it unto prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful actions: nay beyond that, unto those virtuous ones which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, "it was a poor design of friendship to keep the person he admitted to his breast only from being scandalous, as if the physician should endeavour only to secure his patient from the plague." And what he thus articled for, he punctually himself performed, and exacted back again to be returned unto himself.

And if for any while he observed that no remembrance had been offered to him, he grew afraid and almost jealous of the omission, suspecting that the courtier had supplanted the friend, and therefore earnestly enforced the obligation of being faithful

faithful in this point: and when with much ado somewhat of advertisement was picked up, he received it always as huge kindness; and though the whole ground of it happened to be mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate thanks.

His good will when placed on any was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening vice, to which he had the greatest detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it, the abhorrency of their guilts leaving not only a charity but tenderness to their persons; and, as he has profest, his concernment rather encreased than lessened by this means, compassion being in that instance added unto love. There were but two things which (he would say) were apt to give check to his affections, pride and falseness; where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a friend to any purpose, because he could never hope to do any good; yet even there he would intend his prayers, so much the more by how much the less he could do besides. But where he saw a malleable honest temper, a Jacob's plain simplicity, nothing could there discourage him; and however inadvertency or passion, or haply some worse ingredient, might frustrate his design, he would attend the *mollia tempora*, as he called them, those gentle and more treatable opportunities which might at last be offered. He so much abhorred artifice and cunning, that he had prejudice to all concealments and pretensions. He used to say he hated a *non-causa*, and he had a strange sagacity in discovering it. When any with much circumlocution and contrivance had endeavoured to shadow their main drift and purpose, he would immediately look through all those mists, and where it was in any degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so: his charity of fraternal correption having only this caution

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or restraint, the hearer's interest, of which he judged, that when advice did not do good, it was hardly separable from doing harm; and on this ground sometimes he did desist. But wheresoever he gave an admonition, he prefaced it always with such demonstrations of tenderness and good-will as could not fail to convince of the affectionate kindness with which it was sent, though it could not of the convenience or necessity to embrace it. And this he gave as a general rule, and enforced by his example, never to reprove in anger, or the least appearance of it. If the passion were real, that then was evidently a fault, and the guilty person most unfit to be a judge: if it were resemblance only, yet even that would be so like to guilt, as probably to divert the offender from the consideration of his failance to fasten on his monitor, and make him think he was chid not because he was in fault, but because the other was angry.

Indeed the person who would not be some way moved with his advices must be strangely insensate and ill-natured. Though his exhortations had as much evidence and weight as words could give them, he had over and above a great advantage in his manner of speaking: his little phrase, "Don't be simple," had more power to charm a passion than long harangues from others; and very many who loved not piety in itself, nor to be troubled with the news of it, would be well pleased to be invited and advised by him, and venerated the same matter in his language which they have derided in another's.

He would say, "he delighted to be loved, not reverenced;" thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with

with the perfect freedom requisite to the other. But as he was thus no friend to ceremonious respect, he was an open enemy to flattery, especially from a friend, from whom he started to meet the slightest appearance of that servile kindness. Having upon occasion communicated a purpose against which there happened to lie some objections, they being by a friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other counsels. But in process of discourse it happened something fell in that brought to mind a passage of a late sermon of the doctor's, which that person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such apprehensions of it, and so past on to talk of other matters. The next day the doctor having recollected that probably the approbation given to the passage of the sermon might be an after-design to allay the plain-dealing which preceded it, expostulated his surmise, protesting "that nothing in the world could more avert his love and deeply disoblige him, than such unfaithfulness." But being assured that there was no such art or contrivance meant, he gladly found, and readily yielded himself to have been mistaken. In other cases he was no way inclinable to entertain doubts of his friends' kindness: but if any irregularity chanced to intervene, and cause misapprehensions, he gave them not leave to root and fasten by concealment, but immediately produced his ground of jealousy; and exacted the like measure back again, if his own proceedings fell at any time under a doubtful or unkind appearance. This he thought a justice essential to friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist: for we think not fit to condemn the most notorious malefactor before he hath had licence to propose his plea; and sure it is more strangely

barbarous to treat a friend, or rather friendship itself, with less regard.

To the performances of friendship he hated all mercenary returns, whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave place for gratitude. "Love," he said, "was built upon the union and similitude of minds, and not the bribes of gifts and benefits." So generous was he herein, that he has oft profest, he "admitted retributions of good turns, yet not so much on any score, as that his friend might have the pleasure of being kind."

There was a person of quality, a great and long sufferer in the late times of trial, to whom the doctor had frequently sent supplies, and continued so to do, till there happened at last a change in the condition of the correspondent, such a one as, if it did not supersede the need of farther assistance, yet gave promise of an approaching affluence; whereupon the doctor feared the adding a new obligation in this conjuncture of affairs might seem a piece of design rather than kindness or charity: and though this suggestion was not of force to divert his purpose, it proved sufficient to suspend it, till by inquiry he found his designed present would be a relief, and then he thought it an impertinence to consider what it could be called besides.

But doing good to relatives or being kind unto acquaintance were low expressions of this virtue we exhibit. Misery and want, where-ere he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities to the exigence he never was a stranger, whatever he might be to the man that suffered.

And here the first preparative was to leave himself no motive to resist or slight the opportunities of

of giving; which he compassed by being a steward to himself as well as unto God, and parting still with the propriety of a set portion of his estate, that when at any time he relieved the wants of any, he might become no whit the poorer by his gift, have only the content of giving, and the ease of being rid of keeping another's money. The rate and sum of what he thus devoted was the tenth of all his income; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings, which had been his lowest proportion in the heat of the war in Oxford, when he lived upon his Pensehurst stock, and had no visible means or almost possibility of supply. Over and above this he completed the devotions of his weekly fast by joining alms thereto, and adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.

These were his debts to charity, the established fixed revenue of the indigent; in the dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any time he happened to be in doubt whether he had set apart his charitable proportions, he always past sentence against himself, resolving it much better to run the hazard of having paid the same debt twice, than to incur the possibility of not having done it once. But beyond these he had his freewill offerings, and those proportioned more by the occasion of giving, than the surplusage he had to give. His poor man's bag had so many mouths, and those so often opened, that it frequently became quite empty: but its being so never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in need; for in such seasons he chose to give in more liberal proportions than at others.

In the time of the war at Oxford, to pass by other lesser reliefs, and many great ones, which

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his industrious concealment has preserved from all notice of the most diligent enquiry, though he were then at a very low ebb, he furnished an indigent friend with sixty pound, which never was repaid him: as also upon another score he parted with twenty pound, and another considerable sum besides that: and to one in distress about the same time and on the same occasion an hundred pound.

Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice still to seek for theirs. Those persons whom he trusted with (his greatest secret and greatest business) his charity, seldom had recourse to him, but he would make enquiry for new pensioners: and though he had in several parts of the nation those whom he employed to find out indigent persons, and dispose his largess to them, and though the tyranny that then prevailed made every day store of such; his covetous bounty still grasped for more. Besides his ordinary provision for the neighbouring poor, and those that came to look him out in his retirement, (which were not few; for that the liberal man dwells always in the road) his catalogue had an especial place for sequestered divines, their wives and orphans; for young students in the universities, and also those divines that were abroad in banishment: where over and above his frequent occasional reliefs to the last of these, the exiled clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over year by year a very considerable sum, such a one as men of far greater revenues do not use upon any occasion to put into the *corban*, and give away, much less as a troublesome excrescence every year prune off, and cast from their estates.

Now if we enquire into the stock and fountain that was to feed all these disbursements, it was at his flight from Pensehurst barely three hundred pounds; which, at the sale of a lease left him for his

his portion from his father, and the assistance of his prebend in Christ-church, after all his lavish charities during those years, was near upon a thousand. The taking of use though he judged lawful, yet never approved by practice, but lent still *gratis* both to friends and strangers. The only other way he had of income was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which when there is defaulked the many whole editions he had nothing for, the charge he was at in the sending of his copies before he printed them unto his friends for their animadversions and advices, his sending them sheet by sheet when printed, and surveying the revises, and the great numbers he gave away to his acquaintance, it will appear that the remainder was but a slight matter. As for private contributions or assistance of that kind, he had never any: for though there were many who would gladly have made those oblations, yet he industriously prevented them by publicly avowing that he needed not. In which refusal he was so peremptory, that when being in Oxford made prisoner at the sign of the Bear, thence to be sent immediately to Wallingford castle, a gentleman, perfectly a stranger to him, and coming by chance to the inn, and hearing of his condition, having fifty pieces by him, would needs have presented them to him; though the doctor had before him the barbarous usage of his brethren, clapped on ship-board under hatches, the like to which he might probably enough meet with; and though this extraordinary occurrence seemed to carry with it somewhat of providential designment; yet he wholly refused the offer; as afterwards he did a far greater sum from a person of honour that courted him with it. Only one twenty pound he was surprised by, and thought fit

to accept, which after some dispute with himself he did upon these two grounds: first, that he might not gratify the pride, from whence he was used to say mens reluctancies to receive benefits proceeded; and secondly, that he might not give the gentleman the discomfiture of seeing he had made an unseasonable offer.

But with all this disproportioned expence unto revenue (a thing which after a very deliberate and strict enquiry remains riddle still, and an event next door to miracle) the doctor daily improved in his estate, and grew in spight of all his liberality rich, being worth at the time of his death about 1500l. which yet we are not to marvel should be strange to us, since it was so to the doctor himself, who often professed to wonder at it, and thereupon would apply this axiom, "that half is more than the whole," his mean revenue by being scattered in the worst of times growing upon him, when others that had great ones, by griping made them less, and grew stark beggars.

As the doctor was thus *charitable*, so was he *genteel and liberal;* his openness of hand in secular occasions was proportionable to that in sacred. When any one had sent him a slight present of apples or the like, his reward would usually much exceed the value; and he would be so well pleased to have such an occasion of giving to a servant, saying, "Alas, poor soul, I warrant he is glad of this little matter," that this seemed a part of the sender's courtesy. Thus if there happened any other occasion of giving, or of gratifying, or advancing public works, (for instance the great Bible, upon which he was out 50l; and reimbursed himself only by selling two copies) he would be sure to do it at a free and highly ingenuous rate. So that he was sparing only to himself,

self, and that upon no other principle, but thereby to be liberal to those he loved better than himself, the necessitous and poor. A pregnant instance whereof may be, that the doctor upon occasion calculating his expences on himself, found them to be not above five pound in the year.

Besides this, he had a further impediment to riches, an easiness which alone has wasted other men's estates; he commonly making those he dealt with their own arbitrators, and if they seriously professed they could go no nigher, he descended to their terms, saying commonly, that "this trash was not worth much ado." And beyond this he was so careless after bargains, that he never received script of paper of any to whom he lent, nor bond of any for performance of covenants, till very lately from two persons, when he found it necessary to use that method with them. He was used to say, "that if he thought men knaves he would not deal with them; and if indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could prevent a cheat: on the other side, if they were honest, there needed no such caution." And possibly, if we consider the whole matter, there was not such imprudence in the manage as at first appears: for bonds would have signified little to him, who in the best times would scarce have put them in suit; but would certainly have starved before he would have made an application to those judicatories which of late prevailed, and usurped the protection as well as the possession of men's rights, and were injurious not only in their oppressions but reliefs.

In those black days, being charged with the debt of about fifty or sixty pounds, formerly by him paid, being offered a release if he would take his oath of payment, he thought the condition too unequal, and was resolved to double his payment

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rather than perform it; but a farther enquiry having cleared the account, he incurred not that penalty.

To a friend of his who, by the falseness of a correspondent whom he trusted, was reduced to some extremity, and enquired what course *he* took to escape such usage, the doctor wrote as follows:

"To your doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my life for want of hand or seal, but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest fellow-prebend of mine, that whensoever a siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other garrison or friend, and seldom ever met with any again, the solicitude was still their ruin: whereas I venturing myself and my cabinet in the same bottom, never lost any thing of this kind. And the like I have practised in this other instance. Whom I trusted to be my friend, all I had was in his power, and by God's blessing I was never deceived in my trust."

And here amidst all these unlikelihoods and seeming impossibilities, riches thrust themselves upon him, and would take no refusal: it pleasing God, since he had exemplified the advices of his Practical Catechism to the duties of alms and charitable distributions, in him also to make good and signally exemplify the assurance he there and elsewhere made in the behalf of Almighty God upon such performance, the giving affluence of temporal wealth. Nor was he the single instance of this truth; as he had proselytes to the speculative verity, he had partisans also of the effect and real issue of it. About four years since a person of good estate, and without charge of children, coming

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to visit the doctor, among other discourse happened to speak of the late dean of Worcester, Dr. Potter (whose memory, for his remarkable charity and all other excellencies befitting his profession and dignity in the church, is precious,) this gentleman there related, that formerly enquiring of the dean how it was possible for one that had so great a charge of children, was so hospitable in his entertainment, and profuse in liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich, he answered, that several years before he happened to be present at a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, where the preacher recommending the duty of alms and plentiful giving, assured his auditory that that was the certainest way to compass riches. He moved therewith, thenceforward resolved diligently to follow the counsel and expect the issue; which was such as now created so much wonder. It fortuned that at that time when this was telling, the doctor's Δεύτεραι φροντίδες were newly come out, and therewith this sermon of the *Poor man's tithing*. He therefore willing to improve the opportunity, confessed that he himself was that preacher which doctor Potter referred to, and that there was the very sermon: which immediately giving to this visitant, he desired Almighty God it might have the like effect on him; and so after a short civility dismissed him.

As to the *way* and very *manner of his charity*, even that was a part of his donation and largess. One great care of his was to dispose of his reliefs so as to be most seasonable; to which purpose he had his spies and agents still imployed to give him punctual notice of the occurents in their several stations. His next endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To persons that had been of quality he consulted to relieve their modesty

modesty as well as needs, taking order they should rather find than receive alms; and knowing well they were provided for, should not yet be able to guess by what means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his hand, he over and above bestowed the charities of his familiar and hearty kindness: in the expressiveness of which he was not only assisted by his habitual humility, or positive opinion, upon which he was used to say, "that it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty;" but much more by the pleasure and transport which the very act of giving transfused into him: which whosoever noted, stood in need of no other proof of the truth of his usual affirmation, "That it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give." Upon which consideration he often took occasion to magnify the exceeding indulgence of God, that had annexed future rewards to that which was so amply its own recompence.

Another circumstance in the doctor's liberality not to be passed over was his choice of what he gave; his care that it should not be of things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had. It happened that a servant in the family being troubled with the gout, the doctor gave order that he should have some of the plaister which he used in the like extremity; but the store of that being almost spent, the person intrusted in this office gave of another sort, which was of somewhat less reputation. Which practice the doctor within a while coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable kindness unto him, which disregarded the pressing interests and wants of another person, and thereby gave him a disquiet parallel to that which a fit of the gout would have done.

But

But besides this of giving, the alms of lending had an eminent place in the practice as well as judgment of the doctor. When he saw a man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a sum, and let him pay it again at such times and in such proportions as he found himself able: withal when he did so, he would add his counsel too, examine the person's condition, and contrive with him how the present sum might be most advantageously disposed; still closing the discourse with prayer for God's blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite affability and kindness. In which performance as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior degree; giving this for a rule to those of his friends that were of estate and quality, to "Treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them." And as upon the grounds of his most genteel and obliging humanity he never suffered any body to wait that came to speak with him, though upon a mere visit, but broke off his beloved studies, upon which his intention was so great, that he extremely grudged to be interrupted by any bodily concernment of his own, and so would often intermit his prescribed walks and suppers in pursuance of it: so with a more exceeding alacrity he came down when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when a lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room.

As poverty thus recommended to the doctor's care and

and kindness, in an especial manner it did so when piety was added to it: upon which score a mean person in the neighbourhood, one Houseman, a weaver by trade, but by weakness disabled much to follow that or any other employment, was extremely his favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate freedom, gave him several of his books, and examined his progress in them; invited him, nay importuned him, still to come to him for whatever he needed, and at his death left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the lady P. [2] being walking, Houseman happened to come by, to whom after the doctor had talked a while in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass; yet soon after called him with these words, "Houseman, if it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain between my lady and you, that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for any thing you want: and so with a most tender kindness gave his benediction." Then turning to the lady, he said, "Will you not think it strange I should be more affected for parting from Houseman than from you?" his treating the poor man when he came to visit him in his sickness was parallel hereto in all respects.

Such another acquaintance he had at Pensehurst, one Sexton, whom he likewise remembered in his will, and to whom he was used to send his more practical books, and to write extreme kind letters, particularly enquiring of the condition of himself and children; and when he heard he had a boy fit to put out to school, allowed him a pension to that purpose: and also with great contentment

[2] *The Lady P.*] Packington.

received

received from him his hearty, though scarce legible, returns.

Nor will this treatment from the doctor seem any thing strange to them that shall consider how low a rate he put upon those usual distinctives, birth or riches; and withal how high a value on the souls of men: for them he had so unmanageable a passion, that it often broke out into words of this effect, which had with them still in the delivery an extraordinary vehemence, "O what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expence of a man's whole life were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul?" accordingly in the pursuit of this design he not only wasted himself in perpetual toil of study, but most diligently attended the offices of his calling, reading daily the prayers of the church, preaching constantly every Sunday, and that many times when he was in so ill a condition of health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His subjects were such as had greatest influence on practice, which he pressed with most affectionate tenderness, making tears part of his oratory. And if he observed his documents to have failed of the desired effect, it was matter of great sadness to him: where instead of accusing the parties concerned, he charged himself that his performances were incompetent to the designed end, and would solicitously enquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; whether his extemporary wording might not be a defect, and the like. Besides this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual aids.

From the time that the children of the family became capable of it till his death, he made it a part of his daily business to instruct them, allotting the interval betwixt prayers and dinner to that work,

work, observing diligently the little deviations of their manners, and applying remedies unto them. In like sort, that he might ensnare the servants also to their benefit, on Sundays in the afternoon he catechized the children in his chamber, giving liberty nay invitation, to as many as would to come and hear, hoping they happily might admit the truths obliquely levelled, which bashfulness persuaded not to enquire for, lest they thereby should own the fault of former inadvertence. Besides he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any person single; and to that purpose having particularly invited such to come at their leisurable hours, when any did so, he used all arts of encouragement and obliging condescension; insomuch that having once got the scullion in his chamber upon that errand, he would not give him the uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his side: though in other cases amidst his infinite humility, he knew well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt. Upon this ground of ardent love to souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding person happening some years since to come to him, there to unload the burthen of his mind, he kept him privately in his chamber for several days with a paternal kindness, answering every scruple which that unhappy temper of mind too readily suggested, and with unwearied patience attending for those little arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This practice continued, till he at last discovered his impressions had in good proportion advanced to the desired effect, which proceeded carefully in this method, that duty still preceded promise, and strict endeavour only founded comfort.

On the same motive of this highest charity, when

when some years since a young man, (who by the encouragement of an uncle, formerly the head of an house in Oxford, had been bred up to learning, but by his ejectment at the visitation was diverted from that course to a country-life, and being so, to engage him therein was also married and had children;) amidst his toilsome avocations continued to employ his vacant hours in study, and happening on some of the doctor's writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his wife and family and employment, to seek out the doctor himself, whom being accordingly addressed unto, the excellent doctor met this unknown romantic undertaker with his accustomed kindness, and most readily received this votary and proselyte to learning into his care and pupilage for several years, affording him all kind of assistance both in studies and temporal support, till he at last arrived at good proficiency in knowledge, and is at present a very useful person in the church.

Nor could this zeal to the eternal interest of souls be superseded by any sight of danger however imminent. The last year one in the neighbourhood mortally sick of the small pox desiring the doctor to come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the disease did then prove more than usually fatal, and the doctor's age and complexion threatened it particularly so to him; and though one might discern in his countenance vigorous apprehensions of the danger, he presently suppressed his fears, staying only so long as to be satisfied whether the party was so sensible that a visit might possibly be of use, and being informed thereof, cheerfully went; telling the person that happened to be present, whose dreads in his behalf were not so easily deposited, that "he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's

chamber

chamber as in his own:" and not contented with going once, appointed the next day to have returned again; which he had done, had not the patient's death absolved him of his promise.

So likewise when at another time a gentleman of no very laudable life had in his sickness desired to speak with the doctor, which message through the negligence of the person employed was not delivered till he that sent it was in the last agonies of death; the doctor was very much affected at it, passionately complaining of "the brutishness of those that had so little sense of a soul in that sad state:" and pouring out his most fervent prayers in his behalf, requested farther "that by this example others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vice, might learn how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the death-bed is for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God the one commensurate work of the whole life."

But though to advance the spiritual concerns of all that could in any kind become receptive of the good he meant them was his unlimited designment and endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early virtue of young persons was his more chosen study. When he saw such a one, he would contrive and seek out ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay hold of every opportunity to represent the beauty, pleasure and advantage of a pious life; and on the other side to express the toil, the danger and the mischief of brutal sensuality. Withal he would be still performing courtesies, thereby to oblige of very gratitude to him, obedience and duty unto God.

Where to pass by the many instances that he gave of this his charity, it will not be amiss to insist

insist on one as a specimen of the rest, which was thus. It happened during the doctor's abode in Oxford in the war, that a young man of excellent faculties and very promising hopes in that place, by his love to music was engaged in the company of such who had that one good quality alone to recommend their other ill ones. The doctor finding this, though otherwise a stranger to the person, gave him in exchange his own; and taking him as it were into his own bosom, directed him to books, and read them with him, particularly a great part of Homer, at a night dispatching usually a book, and if it proved holiday, then two; where his comical expression was, when one Iliad was done, to say, "Come, because it is holiday, let us be jovial and take the other Iliad," reflecting on the mode of the former debauches, whose word it was, it is holiday, let us take the other pint.

And as the doctor laboured in the rescue of single persons, he had an eye therein to multitudes; for wherever he had planted the seeds of piety, he presently cast about to extend and propagate them thereby to others: engaging all his converts not to be ashamed of being reputed innocent, or to be thought to have a kindness for religion; but own the seducing men to God with as much confidence at least as others use when they are factors for the devil: and instead of lying on the guard and the defensive part, he gave in charge to chuse the other of the assailant. And this method he commended not only as the greatest service unto God and to our neighbour, but as the greatest security to ourselves; it being like the not expecting of a threatened war at home, but carrying it abroad into the enemies country. And nothing in the christian's warfare he judged so dangerous as a truce, and the cessation of hostility.

Withal,

Withal, parly and holding intelligence with guilt in the most trivial things, he pronounced as treason to ourselves, as well as unto God: "for while," saith he, "we fight with sin, in the fiercest shock of opposition we shall be safe; for no attempts can hurt us till we treat with the assailants: temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted." Besides, whereas young people are used to varnish over their non-performance and forbearance of good actions by a pretence unto humility and bashful modesty, saying, they are ashamed for to do this or that, as being not able for to do it well, he assured them "This was arrant pride and nothing else."

Upon these grounds his motto of instruction to young persons was, *Principiis obsta*, and *Hoc age*, to withstand the overtures of ill, and be intent and serious in good; to which he joined a third advice, "To be furnished with a friend." Accordingly at a solemn leave-taking of one of his disciples, he thus discoursed: "I have heard say of a man who upon his death-bed being to take his farewell of his son, and considering what course of life to recommend that might secure his innocence, at last enjoined him to spend his time in making of verses, and in dressing a garden; the old man thinking no temptation could creep into either of these employments. But I instead of these expedients will recommend these other, the doing all the good you can to every person, and the having of a friend; whereby your life shall not only be rendered innocent, but withal extremely happy."

Now after all these excellencies, it would be reason to expect that the doctor, conscious of his merit, should have looked, if not on others with contempt, yet on himself with some complacency and

and fair regard: but it was far otherwise. There was no enemy of his, however drunk with passion, that had so mean an esteem either of him or of his parts as he had both of the one and other. As at his first appearing in public he was clearly overreached and cheated in the owning of his books; so when he found it duty to go on in that his toilsome trade of writing, he was wont seriously to profess himself astonished at their reception into the world, especially, as he withal was pleased to add, since others failed herein, whose performances were infinitely beyond any thing which he was able to do.

From this opinion of his mediocrity at best, and the resolution of not making any thing in religion public before it had undergone all tests, in point not only of truth but prudence, proceeded his constant practice of subjecting all his writings to the censure and correction of his friends, engaging them at that time to lay aside all their kindness, or rather to evidence their love by being rigidly censorious. There is scarce any book he wrote that had not first travelled on this errand, of being severely dealt with, to several parts of the nation before it saw the light; nay so scrupulous was the doctor herein, that he has frequently, upon suggestion of something to be changed, returned his papers the second time unto his censor, to see if the alteration was exactly to his mind, and generally was never so well pleased as when his packets returned with large accessions of objectings and advertisements. And in this point he was so strangely adviseable, that he would advert unto the judgement of the meanest person, usually saying, that there was no one that was honest to him by whom he could not profit; withal, that he was to expect readers of several sorts, and if one illiterate man was

stumbled, it was likely others of his form would be so too, whose interest, when he writ to all, was not to be passed over. Besides, those less-discerning observators, if they should do nothing else, he said could serve to draw teeth; that is, admonish if ought were said with passion or sharpness, a thing the doctor was infinitely jealous of in his writings. Many years since he having sent one of his tracts unto an eminent person in this church, to whom he bore a very high and merited regard, to be looked over by him, he sending it back without any amendment, but with a profuse compliment of liking every thing; the good doctor was much affected with the disappointment, only comforted himself herein, that he had reaped this benefit, to have learned never to send his papers to that hand again; which resolution to his dying day he kept.

Nor was this caution before the publishing of his books sufficient, but was continued after it, the doctor importuning still his friends to send him their objections, if in any point they were not satisfied; which he with great indifference considered in his reviews and subsequent editions; however took more kindly the most impertinent exception, than those advertisements of a different kind which brought encomiums and lavish praises, which he heard with as great distaste as others do the most virulent reproaches.

A farther proof of this low esteem the doctor had of himself (if such were possible) would be *meekness* to those that slighted him and disparaged his abilities; this being the surest indication that our humility is in earnest, when we are content to hear ill language not only from ourselves but from our enemies: which with how much indifference this inimitable person did, it is neither easy fully

fully to describe, nor to persuade to just belief. The short is, as he was never angry with his pertinacious dissenters for not being of his mind in points of speculation; no more was he in the least with his scornful opposites for their being of it in their little value of his person. And though he had, as well as other men, seeds of incitation in his natural temper, and more than others temptation to it in his daily and almost intolerable injuries; yet such was the habitual mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest considerers of his actions, have not in ten years perpetual conversation, seen his passion betray him to an indecent speech.

Nor was his *sufferance* of other kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the reception of calumny and foul reproach: for though "pain were that to which" he was used to say, "he was of all things most a coward," yet being under it he shewed an eminent constancy and perfect resignation.

At the approach of sickness his first consideration was, what failing had provoked the present chastisment, and to that purpose he made his earnest prayer to God (and enjoined his friends to do the like) to convince him of it; nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest violence and sharpest discipline, whatever was displeasing in his eyes, and grant not only patience, but fruitfulness under the rod. Then by repeated acts of submission would he deliver himself up into God's hands to do with him as seemed him good; amidst the sharpest pains meekly invoking him, and saying, "God's holy will be done." And even then when on the wrack of torture, would he be observing every circumstance of allay: when it was the gout he would give thanks it was not the

stone or cramp; when it was the stone, he then would say it was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did. And then when some degree of health was given, he exerted all his strength in a return of grateful recognition to the author of it, which he performed with a vivacious sense and chearful piety, frequently reflecting on the psalmist's phrase, *that it was a joyful thing to be thankful.* Which his transport whoever should attentively observe, would easily apprehend how possible it was for the infinite fruitions of another world to be made up by the perpetual act of grateful recognition, in giving lauds and singing praises unto God.

Upon this score he was a most diligent observer of every blessing he received, and had them still in readiness to confront unto those pressures he at any time lay under. In the intermissions of his importunate maladies he would with full acknowledgement mention the great indulgence, that he who had in his constitution the cause of so much pain still dwelling with him, should yet by God's immediate interposing be rescued from the effect.

To facilitate yet more this his serenity and calm of mind, he laid this rule before him, which proved of great use, "Never to trouble himself with the fore-sight of future events," being resolved of our Saviour's maxim, that *sufficient to the day is the evil thereof:* and that it were the greatest folly in the world to perplex one's self with that which perchance will never come to pass; bnt if it should, then God who sent it will dispose it to the best; most certainly to *his glory*, which should satisfy us in our respects to him; and, unless it be our fault, as certainly to *our good*, which, if we be not

not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in reference unto ourselves and private interests. Besides all this, in the very dispensation, God will not fail to give such allayes which (like the cool gales under the line) will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable. In such occasions he usually subjoined Epictetus's dilemma, "Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: if it be, let us apply the remedy, and there will be no motive for complaint; if it be not, the grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no good." As also from the same author he annexed this consideration, "That every thing has two handles; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that's more temperate:" and in every occurrent he would be sure to find some cool handle that he might lay hold of.

And to enforce all this, he made a constant recourse to the experience of God's dealing with him in preceding accidents, which however dreadful at a distance at a nearer view lost much of their terror. And for others that he saw perplexed about the manage of their difficult affairs, he was wont to ask them, "When they would begin to trust God, or permit him to govern the world." Besides, unto himself and friends he was wont solemnly to give this mandate, *Qod sis esse velis, nihílque malis*, in his English, *to rather nothing;* not only to be content or acquiesce, but be resolved the present state to be the very best that could be wished or fancied.

And thus all private concernments he passed over with a perfect indifference; the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or sate uneasily. Herein indeed he was concerned and rendered thoughtful, if somewhat intervened that had a possibility

a possibility of duty appendant to it; in which case he would be solicitous to discern where the obligation lay: but presently rescued himself from that disquiet by his addresses unto God in prayer and fasting, which was his certain refuge in this as well as other exigents; and if the thing in question were of moment, he called in the devotions of his friends. Besides this case, he owned to have some kind of little discomposure in the choice of things perfectly indifferent; for where there was nothing to determine him, the balance by hanging even became tremulous, and by a propensity to either side inclined to neither, making useless offers, but promoving nothing: which condition of mind he was wont to call *the deliberation of Buridan's ass.*

Upon which grounds, of all other things, he most disliked the being left to make a choice; and hugely applauded the state of subjection to a superior, where an obsequious diligence was the main ingredient of duty: as also he did the state of subjection unto pressure, as a privilege and blessing. And though he prayed as much and withal as heartily as any person for the return of the nation from captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such mercy by the intervention of repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert solemnly, "That prosperous iniquity would not be deliverance, but the most formidable judgement: that the nation during its pressures was under the discipline of God, given up to Satan by a kind of ecclesiastick censure; and should the Almighty dismiss us from his hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with a *why should you be smitten any more?* this were of all inflictions the most dreadful." Though with admirable equanimity he could run over the black annals of this unhappy nation while

while its calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest mention of its incorrigible guilt without dissolving into tears; especially when he happened to advert unto the impudence of that hypocrisy which reconciled godliness and villany, and made it possible for men to be saints and devils both together: whereby religion grew ruinous to itself, and besides the scandal of such enormities committed in the face of the sun, with such pretence to zeal and holiness, our faith became instructed to confute and baffle duty, the creed and the commandments, belief and practice being brought into the lists, and represented as incompatible; while the flames intended for the sacred lamps, the establishment of doctrinals and speculative divinity, burnt up the altar and the temple, consumed not only charity, but good nature too, and untaught the common documents of honest heathenism.

And while this public soul in the contemplation of the mischief which our sins both were themselves and in their issues, great in their provocation and fatal in their plagues, indulged unto his pious and generous griefs, yet even then considering judgment not to be more just than useful to the sufferers, he found out means from that unlikely topic to speak comforts to himself and others.

In that last crisis of our gasping hopes, the defeat of the Cheshire forces [3], which promised all the misery consequent to the sway of a senate gorged in blood, and yet still thirsting more, and of a veteran army composed of desperate fanatics, en-

[3] *Defeat of the Cheshire forces.*] Under Sir George Booth, by the parliament army under the command of General Lambert. Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, book 16. vol. 3. p. 527. Edit. 1704.

gaged

gaged in equal guilts among themselves, and equal hate against the other, and therewithal the religion, liberty and being, of the nation; he thus addresses himself to the desponding sorrows of a friend.

"SIR, Sept. 2.

"I have received your last, and acknowledge the great fitness of it to the present opportunities under which God hath pleased to place us. If we look about us, there was never any louder call to lamentation and bitter mourning; and the sharpest accents of these are visibly due to those continued provocations which appear to have wrought all our woe: yet is there not wanting some gleam of light, if we shall yet by God's grace be qualified to make use of it. It is the supreme privilege of Christianity to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect εὐδία: and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you to improve and receive benefit by; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of it. It is plainly this; that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a church and monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great ills, and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods, would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts; and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence, have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us now all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously

gorously to the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a church; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do much good; and some live to see themselves confuted, want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance: so those that never come to make the experiment, have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest if they had been proved they should have been found faithless. And the same judgement are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what he sees to be absolutely best for us; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for. And then, I pray, judge candidly whether any thing be in any degree sober or tolerable in any of us, beside the one great necessary wisdom as well as duty of resignation, and making God's choices ours also.

I have been these three weeks under restraint by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs, yet blessed be God have all causes of thanksgiving, none of repining. And I shall with confidence pray and hope that the great multitudes of persons and families that are now under far sharper exercises, will find as much greater allays and sweetnesses, and the black cloud (as oft it hath done) vanish undiscernibly."

And

And when this most unlikely prophecy became fulfilled, when that black cloud he spoke of, contrary to all human expectation, broke not in tempest, but the fairest sun shine that ever smiled on this our land, when our despairs and resolute despondencies became unravelled by a miracle of mercy, which after-ages will be as far from giving credit to in its endearing, most improbable circumstances, as this of ours (pardon the harshness of a true comparison) is from esteeming at its merited rate; our excellent patriot, and best of men, seeing the dawnings of this welcome day, paid down at once his greatest thanks and heartiest deprecations as a tribute to it, passionately fearing, what he had more passionately wished for, suspecting his own hopes, and weeping over his fruitions.

As to his Sacred Majesty, he looked on his return with pity and compassion, as bringing him to that uneasy, if not insuperable, task of ruling and reforming a licentious people; to that most irksome sufferance of being worried with the importunities of covetous and ambitious men, the restless care of meeting the designs of mutinous and discontented spirits: resolving, his most wished return could only be a blessing to his people, but unto him could not be so, but only on the score, by having opportunities through glorious self-denials to do good. And for all other persons, he said, "that having seriously considered what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any. As for the *church* 'twas certain, persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that; she then grew fastest when pruned most: then of the best complexion and most healthy when fainting through loss of blood. As to the *laity*, in all their several stations and estates,

estates, they had so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgement, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy. And lastly, in reference to *himself*, he resolved (though sure on weaker grounds) affliction most conducible." During the current of that tyranny which for so many years we all groaned under, he kept a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents: but the approaching change gave him somewhat of pensive recollection, insomuch that discoursing of occurrents, he broke forth into these words, "I must confess I never saw that time in all my life wherein I could so cheerfully say my *nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice: but if it please God I should live and be called to any higher office in the church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment." Which words he spake with the greatest concernment of earnest melting passion as is imaginable. Accordingly it pleased Almighty God to deal; and having granted to his servant the satisfaction of a full return and gracious answer to his prayer in the then everyday expected reception of his Sacred Majesty, not to deny his other great request of not sharing a temporary advantage from it: but as his merits were far beyond those transitory ensnaring retributions, to remove him from them to those solid and unmixed rewards, which could be nothing else than such, and would be such for ever.

But this sad part of our relation requiring to itself a fresh unwearied sorrow, and the saint-like manner

manner of this excellent person's passage from the world being as exemplary and conducing to the uses of survivers as the notice of his life; we shall allow it a distinct apartment, and once again break off the thread of our discourse, for to resume it in its proper unentangled clue.

SECTION THE THIRD.

At the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the reduction of his Sacred Majesty, and all persons in their several stations began to make way and prepare for it, the good doctor was by the fathers of the church desired to repair to London, there to assist in the great work of the composure of breaches in the church: which summons as he resolved unfit either to dispute or disobey, so could he not without much violence to his inclinations, submit unto. But finding it his duty, he diverted all the uneasiness of antipathy and aversation into a deliberate preparation of himself for this new theatre of affairs on which he was to enter. Where his first care was to fortify his mind against the usual temptations of business, place, and power. And to this purpose, besides his earnest prayers to God for his assistance, and disposal of him entirely to his glory, and a diligent survey of all his inclinations, and therein those which were his more open and less defensible parts, he farther called in and solemnly adjured that friend of his with whom he had then the nearest opportunity of commerce, to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a christian friendship to observe the failances of all kinds, and shew them to him: which being accordingly attempted, the product, after a diligent inquest, only proving the

representation of such defects, which might have past for virtue in another person; his next prospect was abroad, what several ways he might do good unto the public: and knowing that the diocese of Worcester was by the favour of his majesty designed his charge, he thought of several opportunities of charity unto that place, and among others particularly cast in his mind for the repair of the cathedral church, and laid the foundation of a considerable advance unto that work. Which early care is here mentioned as an instance of his inflamed desire of doing good, and singular zeal to the house of God, and the restoring of a decent worship in a like decent place: for otherwise it was far from his custom to look forward into future events, but still to attend and follow after Providence, and let every day bear its own evil. And now considering that the nation was under its great crisis and most hopeful method of its cure, which yet if palliate and imperfect, would only make way to more fatal sickness, he fell to his devotions on that behalf, and made those two excellent prayers[4], which

[4] *Two excellent prayers.*] See works, vol. i. p. 727. The following is submitted as a specimen, from the former of them.

"O blessed Lord, who in thine infinite mercy didst vouchsafe to plant a glorious church among us, and now in thy just judgment hast permitted our sins and follies to root it up, be pleased at last to resume thoughts of peace towards us, that we may do the like to one another. Lord, look down from heaven, the habitation of thy holiness, and behold the ruins of a desolated church, and compassionate to see her in the dust. Behold her, O Lord, not only broken, but crumbled, divided into so many sects and factions, that she no longer represents the Ark of the God of Israel, where the covenant and the manna were conserved, but the ark of Noah, filled with all various sorts of unclean beasts: and to complete our misery and guilt, the spirit of division hath insinuated itself as well into our affections as our judgments: that badge of discipleship

which were published immediately after his death, as they had been made immediately before his sickness, and were almost the very last thing he wrote.

Being in this state of mind, fully prepared for that new course of life, which had nothing to recommend it to his taste but its unpleasantness, (the best allective unto him) he expected hourly the peremptory mandate which was to call him forth of his beloved retirements.

But in the instant a more importunate, though infinitely more welcome, summons engaged him on

ship which thou recommendedst to us is cast off, and all the contrary wrath and bitterness, anger and clamour, called in to maintain and widen our breaches. O Lord, how long shall we thus violate and defame that gospel of peace that we profess! How long shall we thus madly defeat ourselves, and lose that christianity which we pretend to strive for! O thou which makest men to be of one mind in an house, be pleased so to unite us, that we may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. And now that in civil affairs there seems some aptness to a composure, O let not our spiritual differences be more unreconcileable. Lord, let not the roughest winds blow out of the sanctuary: let not those which should be thy ambassadors for peace still sound a trumpet for war: but do thou reveal thyself to all our Elijahs in that still small voice which may teach them to echo thee in the like meek treatings with others. Lord, let no unseasonable stiffness of those that are in the right, no perverse obstinacy of those that are in the wrong, hinder the closing of our wounds; but let the one instruct in meekness, and be thou pleased to give the other repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. To this end, do thou, O Lord, mollify all exasperated minds, take off all animosities and prejudices, contempt and heart burnings, and by uniting their hearts prepare for the reconciling their opinions. And that nothing may intercept the clear sight of thy truth, Lord, let all private and secular designs be totally deposited, that gain may no longer be the measure of our godliness, but the one great and common concernment of truth and peace may be unanimously and vigorously pursued, &c."

his

his last journey: for on the 4th of April he was seized with a sharp fit of the stone, with those symptoms that are usual in such cases; which yet upon the voidance of a stone ceased for that time. However on the 8th of the same month it returned again with greater violence: and though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distention of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath, upon any little motion. When, as if he had by some instinct a certain knowledge of the issue of his sickness, he almost at its first approach conceived himself in hazard: and whereas at other times, when he saw his friends about him fearful, he was used to reply cheerfully, "that he was not dying yet;" now in the whole current of his disease, he never said any thing to avert suspicion, but addressed unto its cure, telling his friends with whom he was, "that he should leave them in God's hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him, and who would so provide, that they should not find his removal any loss." And when he observed one of them with some earnestness pray for his health and continuance, he with tender passion replied, "I observe your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me: I pray let some of your fervour be employed that way." And being prest to make it his own request to God to be continued longer in the world, to the service of the church, he immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting acknowledgement of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness through the merit

merits of his Saviour: next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged that if the divine wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the church, even to one single soul, he then besought Almighty God to continue him, and by his grace enable him to employ that life he so vouchsafed, industriously and successfully. After this he did with great affection intercede for this church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for sincere performance of christian duty now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that those who professed that faith might live according to the rules of it, and to the form of godliness superadd the power. This with some repetitions and more tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging to his infirmity, as to make his disease so painless to him; withal to send it to him before he took his journey, whereas it might have taken him in the way or at his inn, with far greater disadvantages.

Nor did he in this exigence desist from the exercise of his accustomed candour and sweetness, whereby he was used to entertain the addresses of the greatest strangers. For two scholars coming at this time to see him, when they having sent up their names, it appeared they were such as he had no acquaintance with, though they that were about the doctor, considering his illness, proposed that a civil excuse might be made, and the visitants be so dismissed; he resisted the advice with the greatest earnestness, saying, "I will by no means have them sent away, for I know not how much they may be concerned in the errand they come about;" and

and gave order they should be brought up: and when upon trial it appeared that a compliment was the whole affair, yet the good doctor seemed much satisfied that he had not disappointed that unseasonable kindness.

Likewise his own necessities, however pressing, diverted not his concernments for those of others. It so happened that a neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the church-office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf: and though at the beginning of the doctor's illness the chaplain made no other variation, than to change the singular into the plural, yet when his danger encreased, he then thought fit to pray peculiarly for him; which the good doctor would by no means admit, but said, "O no, poor soul, let not me be the cause of excluding her;" and accordingly had those prayers continued in the more comprehensive latitude. And indeed those offices which had a public character upon them he peculiarly valued. For as to the forms of devotion appropriate to his extremity, he took care they should not exclude the public ones, but still gave these a constant place: and when in his sharp agonies his friends betook themselves to their extemporary ejaculations, he composed those irregularities by saying, "Let us call on God in the voice of his church."

And in seasons of this kind whereas the making of a will is generally an uneasy task, as being at once a double parting with the world; to him it was in all respects agreeable and welcome. For having bequeathed several legacies to his relatives and friends, and left the remainder of his estate to the disposal of his intimate and approved friend Doctor Henchman, now lord bishop of Salisbury, as if recovered from the worst part of his disease,

the necessity of reflecting upon secular affairs, he became strangely cheerful, and overlooked the encroaching importunate tyranny of sickness.

On the 20th of April, being Good-Friday, he solemnly received the sacrament; and again on the 22d of April, which then was Easter-day. At which time when the number of communicants was too great to have place in his bed-chamber, and the whole office was over-long for him to go through with, it was ordered, that the service being performed in the usual apartment, a competent number should afterwards come up and communicate with him: which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with grief and trouble, breaking out into this passionate complaint, "Alas! must I be excommunicated?" To be absent from any part of public worship he thus deeply resented: so far was he from their opinion (and they would be thought godly too) who in their most healthful leisureable days make this not their penance, but election and choice.

Amidst his weakness and indisposition of all parts, in the act of celebration his devotion only was not faint or sick, but most intent and vigorous: yet equalled by his infinite humility, which discovered itself as in his deportment, so particularly in that his pathetical ejaculation, which brake forth at the hearing of those words of the apostle, *Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;* unto which he rejoined, in an accent that neither intended a compliment to God nor men, to either of which he was not under a temptation, "Of whom I am the chief."

The exuberance of this humility appeared in all other occasions of instance: particularly about this time a letter being sent unto him, in which, among many expressions of great value, there was added

added an intimation, "That there was now hope the days were come when his desert should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the church;" at this he was hugely discomposed, and expressed a grief and anguish beyond that his sickness in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him.

But now through the long suppression of urine the blood grown thin and serous, withal made eager and tumultuous by the mixture of heterogeneous parts, the excellent doctor fell into a violent bleeding at the nose; at which the by-standers being in astonishment, he cheerfully admonished "to lay aside impatience in his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best:" withal thankfully acknowledged God's mercy in the dispensation, alledging, "that to bleed to death was one of the most desireable passages out of this world."

And truly he very justly made this observation; for it pleased the Divine Providence strangely to balance the symptoms of the doctor's disease to his advantage: for the sharp pains of the stone were allayed by that heaviness of sense which the recuilment of serous moisture into the habit of the body and insertions of the nerves occasioned; and when that oppression endangered a lethargic or apoplectic torpour, he was retained from that by the flux of blood. Which several accidents interchangeably succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole time of sickness he neither had long violence of torment, nor diminution of his intellectual faculties. And here this violent hæmorrhage of which we now speak being of itself even miraculously stopped, when all applications were ineffectual, a drowsiness succeeding, which happened at the time of prayers, though he perfectly at-

tended, and returned to every response amidst his importuate infirmity, he very sadly resented it, saying, "Alas! this is all the return I shall make to this mercy, to sleep at prayers."

When he was in pain he often prayed for patience, and while he did so, evidenced that his prayer was heard; for he exercised not only that, but thankfulness too, in his greatest extremity crying out, "Blessed be God, blessed be God."

Nor did he, according to the usual method, inflict his sickness upon those about him, by peevishness disquieting his attendants; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought, condescending to all proposals, and obeying with all readiness every advice of his physicians. Nor was it wonder he should so return unto the endeavours of his friends, who had tender kindness for his enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the defeat of Lambert and his party, the last effort of gasping treason in this nation before its blest return unto obedience, was told him, his only triumph was that of his charity, saying with tears in his eyes, "Poor souls! I beseech God forgive them." So habitual was pity and compassion to his soul, that all representations concentred there. Virtue had still his prayers, because he loved it: and vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

In his own greatest desolations he administered reliefs to those about him, mixing advices with his prayers, and twisting the tenderness of a friend to that of the christian. He then dispensed his best of legacies, his blessings; most passionately exhorting the young growing hopes of the family, whose first innocence and bashful shame of doing ill he above all things laboured to have preserved, "to be just to the advantage of their education, and

and maintain inviolate their first baptismal vows:" then more generally commended unto all the great advantage of mutual friendly admonitions. On whichoccasion when the good lady asked him whatmore special thing he would recommend unto her for her whole life, he briefly replied, "uniform obedience:" whereby (if we may take a comment from himself at other times) he meant not only a sincere reception of duty as such, because commanded, and not because it is this or that, pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy duty; but withal the very condition of obeying the lot of not being to choose for one's self, the being determined in all proposals by human or divine command, and where those left at large, by the guidance of God's providence, or the assistance of a friend.

But amidst these most christian divertisements, these happiest anodynes of sickness, the 25th of April fatally drew on, wherein his flux of blood breaking forth again with greater violence than it had done before, was not to be stopped by outward applications, nor the revulsives of any kind, not of its own, the opening of a vein, first in the arm, and after in the foot; till at last the fountain being exhausted, the torrent ceased its course, and indeed that vital one which its regular motion kept on foot: for the good doctor leaving off to bleed about three of the clock in the afternoon, became very weak and dis-spirited, and cold in the extreme parts, had strength only continued to persevere in his devotions, which he did unto the last moment of his life, a few minutes before his death breathing out those words which best became his christian life, "Lord, make haste."

And so upon that very day on which the parliament convened, which laid the foundation of our release

release and liberty, and brought at once this nation's return from its captivity, and its gracious sovereign prince, this great champion of religion and pattern of all virtue, as if reserved for masteries and combats of exigence and hazard, for persecution and sufferings, was taken hence, and by his loss represt the overflowing and extravagance of those joys that waited the reception of his sacred majesty.

It will be below the greatness of the person as well as of this loss, to celebrate his death in womanish complaints, or indeed by any verbal applications; his worth is not to be described by any words besides his own, nor can any thing beseem his memory but what is sacred and eternal as those writings are. May his just fame from them and from his virtue be precious to succeeding times, grow up and flourish still: and when that characters engraved in brass shall disappear, as if they had been writ in water; when elogies committed to the trust of marble shall be illegible as whispered accents; when pyramids dissolved in dust shall want themselves a monument to evidence that they were once so much as ruin; let that remain a known and classic history describing him in his full portraiture among the best of subjects, of friends, of scholars, and of men.

The dead body being opened (which here is mentioned, for that the reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every thing that concerned this great person) the principal and vital parts appeared sound; only the right kidney, or rather its remainder, which exceeded not the bigness of an egg, was hard and knotty, and in its cavity besides several little ones, a large stone of the figure of an almond, though much bigger, whose lesser end was fallen into the urethra, and as

a stopple

a stopple closed it up; so that it is probable that kidney had for divers years been in a manner useless. The other kidney was swoln beyond the natural proportion, otherwise not much decayed; but within the urethra four fingers' breadth a round white stone was lodged, which was so fastened in the part, that the physician with his probe could not stir it, and was fain at last to cut it out: and so exactly it stopped the passage, that upon the dissection the water before enclosed gushed forth in great abundance: from whence it appeared perfectly impossible for art to have ennobled itself in the preservation of this great person; as it was also manifest that nothing but the consequences of his indefatigable study took him from us, in the perfection and maturity, the 55th year of his life.

On the morrow in the evening, the 26th day of the same month, he was, according to his desire, without ostentation or pomp, though with all becoming decency, buried [5] at the neighbour-church of Hampton, with the whole office and usual rites of the church of England, several of the gentry and clergy of the county, and affectionate multitudes of persons of less quality attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him on their shoulders; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burthen in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when

[5] *Buried.*] We are told in the account by bishop Fell of the eminent loyalist, Dr. Richard Allestree, that in his return from a visit to his relations in Shropshire, designing to visit his worthy friend, Dr. Hammond at Westwood near Worcester, he met at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. *Preface to Dr. Allestree's sermons*, fol. 1684.

alive;

alive: where now he rests in peace, and full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

Having thus given a faithful, though imperfect, draught of this excellent person, whose virtues are so far from imitation by practice, that they exercise and strain the comprehension of words; and having shewed how much he has merited of this nation in its most pressing exigents, both by his writings and by his example, and perchance above both these by his unwearied intercession in devotion; it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a request unto the reader in his behalf, and shew him an expedient whereby he may pay his debt of gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy saint though now with God.

It is this, to add unto his account in the day of retribution by taking benefit by his performances: and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise,

That the *covetous* reader would now at his request put off his sordid vice, and take courage to be liberal, assured by his example, that if in the worst of times profuseness could make rich, charity shall never bring to beggary.

That the *proud* opinionated person on the same terms would in civility to him descend from his fond heights, instructed here that lowly meekness shall compass great respects, and instead of hate or flattery be waited on with love and veneration.

That the *debauched* or *idle* would leave upon this score his lewd unwarrantable joys, convinced that strict and rugged virtue made an age of sun-shine, a life of constant smiles, amidst the dreadfullest tempests; taught the gout, the stone, the cramp, the cholic, to be treatable companions, and made it eligible to live in bad times and die in flourishing.

That

That the *angry* man, who calls passion at least justice, possibly zeal and duty, would for his sake assume a different temper, believe that arguments may be answered by saying reason, calumnies by saying no, and railings by saying nothing.

The *coward* and *disloyal*, that durst not own in words, much less by service and relief, his prince, that complimented his apostasy and treason by the soft terms of changing an interest, will from hence learn that the surest way to safety is to have but one interest, and that espoused so firmly as never to be changed; since such a constancy was that which a Cromwell durst not persecute.

That the *employed in business* would from hence dismiss their fears of regular piety, their suspicion that devotion would hinder all dispatch and manage of affairs; since it appeared, his constant office (like the prayer of Joshua, which made the sun stand still) seemed to have rendered unto him each day as long as two.

That the *ambitious* person, especially the ecclesiastic, would think employment and high place a stewardship, that renders debtors both to God and man, a residence at once of constant labour and attendance too; a precipice that equally exposes both to envy and to ruin: and consequently to be that which should become our greatest fear and terror, but at no hand our choice: since it was that which this heroic constancy was not ashamed to own a dread of, and whose appearance did render death itself relief and rescue.

Lastly, that the *narrow self-designing* person, who understands no kindness but advantage; the *sensual*, that knows no love but lust; the *intemperate*, that owns no companion but drink; may all at once from him reform their brutish errors: since he has made it evident, that a friend does fully satisfy

satisfy these distant and importunate desires, being as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous entertainment, so besides that the highest mirth, the greatest interest, and surest pleasure in the world.

They that had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this best of men, this saint, who seems in our decays of ancient virtue lent us by special providence even for this end and purpose, that we might not disbelieve the faith of history delivering the excellency of primitive christians, know with what thirst and eagerness of soul he sought the spiritual advantage of any single man how mean soever, with what enjoyment he beheld the recovery of any such from an ill course and habit. And whatever apprehensions other men may have, they will be easily induced to think, that if blessed spirits have commerce with earth, (as surely we have reason to believe it somewhat more than possible) they, I say, will resolve it a connatural and highly-agreeable accession unto his fruitions, that when there is joy in the presence of the angels of God for a sinner that repents, he may be an immediate accessory to that blessed triumph, and be concerned beyond the rate of a bare spectator.

Persuasions to piety now-a-days are usually in scorn called preaching: but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible an office soever it be grown, will be no indecency in this instance; that it will not be absurd if his history, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of preachers, whose life was the best of sermons, should bear a correspondence to its subject, and professedly close with an application: that it adjures all persons to be what they promised God Almighty they would be in their baptismal vows, what they see the glorious saints and martyrs and confessors, and in particular this holy man has been before them; be what is most

most honourable, most easy and advantageous to be at present; and, in a word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their death-beds, before they leave the world, and then would be for ever.

Which blest atchievement as it was the great design of the excellent doctor's both words and writings, his thoughts and actions, is also (besides the payment of a debt to friendship and to virtue) the only aim of this imperfect, but yet affectionate and well-meant, account: and may Almighty God by the assistance of his grace give all of these this their most earnestly-desired effect and issue!

By the generous piety of the Right Reverend Father in God Humphrey Lord Bishop of Sarum, there is now erected to the sacred memory of this great person in the parish-church of Hampton, the place of his interment, a fair monument of white marble bearing this inscription.

HENRICUS HAMMONDUS,

Ad cujus Nomen assurgit
Quicquid est gentis literatæ,
(Dignum Nomen
Quod Auro, non Atramento,
Nec in Marmore perituro, sed Adamante potiùs
Exaretur)
Musagetes celeberrimus, vir planè summus,
Theologus omnium consummatissimus,
Eruditæ pietatis Decus simul & Exemplar;
Sacri Codicis Interpres
Facilè omnium oculatissimus,

Errorum

Errorum Malleus
Post homines natos felicissimus,
Veritatis Hyperaspistes
Supra-quam-dici-potest Nervosus;
In cujus Scriptis
Elucescunt
Ingenii Gravitas et Acumen,
Judicii Sublimitas et Ἀκρίβεια,
Sententiarum Ὄγκος et Δεινότης,
Docendi Methodus utilissima,
Nusquam dormitans Diligentia.

Hammodus (inquam) ὁ πάνυ,
In ipsa Mortis Vicinia positus,
Immortalitati quasi contiguus,
Exuvias Mortis venerandas
(Præter quas nihil Mortale habuit)
Sub obscuro hoc Marmore
Latere voluit,
VII. Cal. Maias,
Ann. Ætat. LV.
M DC LX.

The marble tablet would receive no more in charge: but ours indulging greater liberty, I shall set down the whole elogie, as it grew upon the affectionate pen of the Reverend Doctor T. Pierce, who was employed to draw it up.

Sed latere qui voluit, Ipsas Latebras illustrat;
Et Pagum aliàs obscurum
Invitus cogit inclarescere.
Nullibi Μνημόσυνον Illi potest deesse,
Qui, nisi ἀξιομνημόνευτον,
Nihil aut dixit aut fecit unquam.
Ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.

Animi

Animi dotibus ita Annos anteverterat,
Ut in ipsâ linguæ infantiâ τρίγλωττος,
Eâque ætate Magister Artium,
Quâ vix alii Tyrones, esset.
Tam sagaci fuit Industriâ,
Ut horas etiam subcisivas utiliùs perderet
Quam pleriq; mortalium serias suas collocârunt.
Nemo rectiùs de se meruit,
Nemo sensit demissiùs;
Nihil eo aut excelsius erat, aut humilius.
Scriptis suis factisque
Sibi Uni non placuit,
Qui tam Calamo quàm Vitâ
Humano generi complacuerat.
Ita Labores pro Dei sponsa, ipsóq; Deo exantlavit,
Ut Cœlum ipsum Ipsius Humeris incubuisse videretur.
Παραλληλίαν omnem supergressus
Romanenses vicit, profligavit Genevates,
De Utrisque triumphârunt
Et VERITAS & HAMMONDUS:
Utrisque meritò triumphaturis,
Ab Hammondo victis, & Veritate.
Qualis Ille inter Amicos censendus erit,
Qui demereri sibi adversos vel Hostes potuit?
Omnes hæreses incendiarias
Atramento suo deleri maluit,
Quàm Ipsorum aut sanguine extingui,
Aut dispendio animæ expiari.
Cœli Indigena
Eò Divitias præmittebat,
Ut ubi Cor jam erat,
Ibi etiam thesaurus esset:
In hoc uno avarus,
Quòd prolixè Benevolus prodigâ manu erogavit,
Æternitatem in Fœnore lucraturus.
Quicquid habuit, voluit habere,
Etiam invalidæ Valetudinis.

Ita habuit in deliciis non magis facere quam sufferre
Totam Dei Voluntatem, ut frui etiam videretur
Vel morbi Tædio.
Summan animi γαλήνην testatam fecit
Hilaris frons & exporrecta:
Nusquam aliàs in Filiis Hominum
Gratior ex pulchro veniebat Corpore Virtus.
Omne jam tulerat punctum,
Omnium plausus:
Cùm Mors, quasi suum adjiciens Calculum,
Funestâ Lithiasi terris abstulit
Cœli avidum,
Maturum Cœlo.
Abi, Viator,
Pauca sufficiat delibâsse:
Reliqua seræ posteritati narranda restant,
Quibus pro merito enarrandis
Una ætas non sufficit.

BISHOP SANDERSON.

These confusions kept increasing, under different forms, each more ridiculous or more horrid than the other, till this miserable nation, now become the scorn and opprobrium of the whole earth, at length grew tired, rather than ashamed, of its repeated follies. In this temper they hastily recalled the heir of the monarchy: and as the cause of all these miseries had been their insisting on unreasonable conditions from the crown, they did like men driven out of one extreme, who never take breath till they have plunged themselves into another, they strove to atone for their unjust demands upon the virtuous father, by the most lavish concessions to his flagitious son: who succeeded to the inheritance with all those advantages of an undefined prerogative, which an ambitious prince could wish for the foundation of an arbitrary system: A sad presage to the friends of liberty, that their generous labours were not yet at an end! Indeed, within less than half a century, the old family projects, taken up again by the two last princes of this line, revived the public quarrel. But it was conducted under happier auspices, not by the assistance of SECTARIES, but by the NATIONAL CHURCH; and concluded in the final establishment of a free constitution.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Bishop Sanderson, written by Isaac Walton in the eighty-fifth year of his age, is here printed intire from the third impression, prefixed to his *Sermons*, and bearing date 1686 It was first published in a somewhat less correct state, in the year 1678, and was then accompanied by some short Tracts, written by Sanderson, and a Sermon of Richard Hooker's, found in the Study of Bishop Andrews; circumstances which it is proper to mention, for the purpose of explaining some passages in the following Preface.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

AND

HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

PRELATE OF THE GARTER,

AND ONE OF HIS

MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

My Lord,

IF I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your lordship, I should enter upon an employment, that might prove as tedious, as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend Dr. Sanderson. But, though I will not venture to do that; yet, I do remember with pleasure and remonstrate with gratitude, that your lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men, whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his life: but the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain, as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,

And most humble servant,

IZAAC WALTON.

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PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the life of Dr. Sanderson; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful, or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondred that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity, as to undertake it. For as it may be noted, that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten: so I conceive, the great satisfaction many scholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear and useful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchless meekness, his calm fortitude and the innocence of his whole life; doth justly challenge the like from this present age; that posterity may not be ignorant of them: and it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premised I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say, what I think he (whom I had the

happiness

happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and if I have been too bold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet, I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And, though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions, to undertake it, and so many willing informers since, and from them and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myself, and sometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the reader; and with it this desire: that he will take notice that Dr Sanderson did in his will or last sickness advertise that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because *that might be said to be his which indeed was not;* and also, for that *he might have changed his opinion since he first writ it,* as it is thought he has since he writ his *Pax Ecclesiæ.* And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his case of conscience concerning rash vows, *that there may appear very good second reasons, why we may forbear to perform them.* However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do Apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so in my former queries for my information to write the life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with

with reason to believe it) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy; and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn: And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times, when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these memoirs of this humble man, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrower compass; and, if I have by the pleasant toil of so doing, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it: but I seriously wish, both for the reader's, and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

BISHOP

BISHOP SANDERSON.

Doctor Robert Sanderson, the late learned bishop of Lincoln, whose life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of September, in the year of our redemption, 1587. The place of his birth was Rotheram in the county of York: a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotheram, sometime archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man, whose great wisdom and bounty, and sanctity of life, gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And, the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great sanctity, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson of Gilthwait-hall in the said parish and county, esq. by Elizabeth one of the daughters of Richard Carr of Buterthwate-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield in the said county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson the father, was descended from a numerous, ancient and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoroton's history of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality:

reality: for, titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have atchieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But this Robert Sanderson, lived worthy of his name and family: of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a god-father to Gilbert Sheldon, the late lord archbishop of Canterbury; to whose merits and memory posterity (the clergy especially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who (like Josiah that good king) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then, to dedicate himself and all his studies, to piety and virtue.

And, as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise disposer of all hearts had endowed his; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others. And this blessed temper, was maintained, and improved by his prudent father's good example; as also, by his frequent conversing with him, and scattering short and virtuous apothegms with little pleasant stories,

stories, and making useful applications of them, by which his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue; and by these means and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blest with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians; namely, *that he that had begun a good work in them, would finish it.* (Phil. i. 6.) And Almighty God did: for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death (and with truth and comfort) what the same St. Paul said after to the same Phillippians, when he advised them *to walk as they had him for an example.* (Chap. iii. 17.)

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar school of Rotheram, (that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name.) And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age[1], and with it a more than common

[1] *Beyond his age.*] "For myself," (he tells us in the preface to his sermons, dated 1657), "I had a desire I may truly say, *almost from my very childhood*, to understand as much as was possible for me, the bottom of our religion; and particularly as it stood in relation both to the Papists, and (as they were then styled) Puritans; to inform myself rightly, wherein consisted the true differences between them and the Church of England,

common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotheram to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster: and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then rector of Lincoln college: and he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and not long after to matriculate him in the university, which he did the first of July 1603: but he was not chosen fellow till the third of May 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of batchelor of arts; at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the rector, that his pupil Sanderson had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought he had improved, or made the last so by an art of his own invention.

England, together with the grounds of those differences: for I could even then observe (which was no hard matter to do), that the most of mankind took up their religion upon trust, as custom or education framed them, rather than choice." P. 76. Edit. 1689.

And

And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this university; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by king James appointed to be one of the translators of the bible: and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company: and they resting on a Sunday with the doctor's friend, and going together to that parish church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's house; where, after some other conference, the doctor told him, "He might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that word, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons, why it ought to have been translated, as he said; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed:" and told him, "If his friend, then attending him, should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderson said, "He hoped he should not." And the preacher

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was so ingenuous as to say, "He would not justify himself." And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608. (July the 11th,) Mr. Sanderson was compleated master of arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities, the time was shorter than was then, or is now required; but either his birth, or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have mis-informed me: but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th,) by his college chosen reader of logic in the house, which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the sixth of November 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen sub-rector of the college, and the like for the year 1614; and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the proctors for the university. And it was not to satisfy

satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the rector, and whole society, of which he was a member, who had not had a proctor chosen out of their college for the space of sixty years (namely, not from the year 1554, unto his standing;) and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his college." By these and other like persuasions he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret and by so powerful a faction, that he mist it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "That if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake: for he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilibie and others, to renew the logic lectures which he had read for some years past in his college: and that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity.

And though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year 1615. And the book proved, as his friends seemed to prophecy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logick may be said to be an art of right reasoning; an art that undeceives

men,

men, who take falshood for truth; and enables men to pass a true judgment and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art, may easily appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. And that he who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulnes of this his first public undertaking, by hearing, that most tutors in both universities teach Dr. Sanderson's logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since this his book of logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: and that it is like to continue both to discover truth and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much dipleasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet, he was assured by Dr. Kilby, and the fellows of his own college, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his book of logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And upon these and other like encouragements, he did

did again, (but not without an inward unwillingness,) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the tenth of April, 1616, chosen senior proctor for the year following, Mr. Charles Crook of Christ-Church being then chosen the junior.

In this year of his being proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate. Namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, master of Baliol College, and *regius* professor of divinity (who being elected or consecrated bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the other chiefs of all the University. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, (being then elected bishop of Worcester) at which time our now proctor Mr. Sanderson succeeded him in the *regius* professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then warden of New College) was advanced to the bishoprick of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sate usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never, allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then, as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as be-

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got in them, then, a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing, and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his humility, and charity, and all other christian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his life, truly writ and printed before his excellent sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise lord Elsmere, who was so very long lord chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right honourable, and magnificent, William Herbert earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late king Charles the first (then prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the University, the schools, Colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And in this year king James sent letters [2] to the University for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines; advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the fathers and councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other knotty points de-

[2] *Sent letters.*] See in the preceeding Vol; the Life of Donne p. 444; and in *this*, the Life of Hammond, p. 343 note 3.

pending upon these; points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the king's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon: and, that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the University; which at that time was either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into an useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful, as they were designed, till archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them) yet, our present proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do. Of which one example may seem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at University hours, or disordred by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him

unsent for next morning: and when they did, convinced them with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said to God, *There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared.* (Psal. cxxx). And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any have done, even without an enemy.

After his proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose. "I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper, are by sudden and small occasions transported, and hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid, and require repentance; and consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon; and consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as abates of the offender's content: when I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper, that he hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And

though

though I cannot say with David (I wish I could) that therefore *his praise shall always be in my mouth* (Psalm cxxx); yet I hope, that by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his proctorship, which is; that Gilbert Sheldon, the late lord archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College in that University; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his godfather (the father of our proctor) to let his son know it, and commend his god-son to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the proctor's chearful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of: of a friendship free from all self-ends: and it continued to be so, till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that this

busy

busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of bachelor in divinity, in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained deacon and priest in the year 1611, by John King, then bishop of London, who had not long before been dean of Christ-Church, and then knew him so well, that he owned it at his ordination, and became his most affectionate friend. And in this year, being about the 29th of his age, he took from the University a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by sir Nicholas Sanderson, lord viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it; and he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannel in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannel, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To

To this living (which was of less value, but purer air than Wibberton) he was presented by Thomas Harrington of the same county and parish, esq; a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannel, he resigned his fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then rector and fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words.

Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the rector and fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

May 6, 1619.

Robert Sanderson.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then bishop of York, (or the king, *sede vacante*,) made prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the bishop of that see.

And

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a University life, he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife, changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, (Colos. 1. 24.) because they occasioned *his rejoicing in them.* And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: he, having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, bachelor in divinity, then rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln (a man of noted worth and learning). And the giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burthen; a wife, that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during

during the whole course of his life; and at his death too; for she out-lived him.

And in this Boothby Pannel he either found or made his parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the constant, decent, and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness: he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such, and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised in order to the honour of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, "That without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, (or are at least the less) effectual; and usually rather harden, than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man, did not think his duty discharged by only reading the Church-prayers, catechizing, preaching, and administring the sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the law, or the canons may seem to injoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making, can or does enjoin; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practicing not only what the law enjoins, but what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience,

and

and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, (Gal. vi. 2.) *help to bear one another's burthen*, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9 l. a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would abate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; people that are curst with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson; for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went next day; and in a conference the doctor presented to him the sad condition

dition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is best pleased when he is called *the God of mercy:* and told him the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleased, if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing.* This he told him. And told him, that the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men *honest* or *merciful;* (that was too nice an undertaking) but does what it can to restrain men from being *dishonest* or *unmerciful;* and yet that our law was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him, that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, *prove like gravel in his teeth;* would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: and therefore advised him (being very rich,) to make friends of his *unrighteous mammon,* before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor dejected sad tenant, for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons, were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, *that he had seen none perish for want of cloathing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice* (Job xxxi.) And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence and piety were much noted and valued by the bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the art of it) yet he was punished with such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure, (which was in the year 1632) "That the best sermons that were ever read, were never preached."

In

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the learned and pious archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there) told the king (it was the knowing and conscientious king Charles the I.) that there was one Mr. Sanderson an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The king granted it most willingly, and gave the bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The bishop forgot not the kings desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his chaplain in ordinary in November, following, (1631). And when the king and he became better known to each other, then, as it is said, that after many hard questions put to the prophet Daniel, king Darius found (Dan. vi.) *an excellent spirit in him;* so it was with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent king; who having put many cases of conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content in conversing with him, (which he did several times in private), that at the end of his month's attendance the king told him; "He should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good king was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the king thought what he spake: for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life; and he proved to

to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first parliament of this good king (which was 1625) he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's (though others say they were long before his time). But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up for his own satisfaction [3] such a scheme (he called it *Pax Ecclesiæ*) as then gave

[3] *His own satisfaction.* We possess from the bishop's own pen, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Peirce, a narrative of the change which took place in his sentiments at this period; and of the commencement and foundation of his theological studies about eighteen years before, too important to be omitted in this place.

"When I began to set myself to the study of Divinity as my proper business, which was after I had the degree of Master of Arts, being then nearly twenty one years of age, the first thing I thought fit for me to do, was to consider well of the articles of the Church of England, which I had formerly read over, twice, or thrice, and whereunto I had subscribed. And because I had then met with some Puritanical pamphlets written against the liturgy and ceremonies, although most of the arguments therein were such as needed no great skill to give satisfactory answers unto, yet for my fuller satisfaction (the questions being *de rebus agendis*, and so the more suitable to my proper inclination) I read over, with great diligence and no less delight, that excellent piece of learned Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. And I have great cause to bless God for it, that so I did, not only for that it much both cleared and settled my judgment for ever after in many very weighty points (as of Scandal, Christian Liberty, Obligation of Laws, Obedience &c) but that it also proved (by his good providence) a good preparative to me (that I say not

gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation.

not antidote) for the reading of Calvin's *Institutions* with more caution, than perhaps otherwise I should have done. For that book was commended to me, as it was generally to all young scholars in those times, as the best and perfectest system of Divinity, and fittest to be laid as a ground-work in the study of that profession. And indeed, being so prepared as is said, my expectation was not at all deceived in the reading of those Institutions. I found, so far as I was then able to judge, the method exact, the expressions clear, the stile grave and unaffected: his doctrine for the most part conform to St. Augustin's; in a word, the whole work very elaborate, and useful to the churches of God in a good measure; and might have been, I verily believe, much more useful, if the honor of his name had not given so much reputation to his very errors. I must acknowledge myself to have reaped great benefit by the reading thereof. But as for the questions of Election, Reprobation, Effectual Grace, Perseverance &c. I took as little notice of the two first, as of any other thing contained in the book; both because I was always afraid to pry much into those secrets, and because I could not certainly inform myself from his own writings, whether he were a *Supra-lapsarian*, as most speak him, and he seemeth often to incline much that way, or a *Sub-lapsarian*, as sundry passages in the book seem to import. But giving myself mostly still to the study of moral Divinity, and taking most other things upon trust, as, they were in a manner generally taught, both in the schools and pulpits in both Universities, I did for many years together acquiesce, without troubling myself any further about them, in the more commonly received opinions concerning both these two, and the other points depending thereupon: yet in the *Sub-lapsarian* way ever, which seemed to me of the two the more moderate, rational and agreeable to the goodness and justice of God: for the rigid *Supra-lapsarian* doctrine could never find any entertainment in my thoughts, from first to last.

"But in 1625 a Parliament being called, wherein I was chosen one of the clerks of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, during the continuance of that Parliament, which was about four months, as I remember, there was some expectation that those Arminian points, the only questions almost in agitation at that time, should have been debated by the

estimation. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good king's reign. Which I

the Clergy in the Convocation. Which occasioned me, as it did sundry others, being then at some leisure, to endeavour by study and conference to inform myself, as throughly and exactly in the state of those controversies, as I could have opportunity, and my wit could serve me for it. In order whereunto, I made it my first business to take a survey of the several different opinions concerning *the ordering of God's decrees*, as to the salvation or damnation of men: not as they are supposed to be really *in mente divinâ*, (for all his decrees are eternal, and therefore coeternal, and therefore no priority or posteriority among them), but *quoad nostrum intelligendi modum*, because we cannot conceive or speak of the things of God, but in a way suitable to our own finite condition and understanding; even as God himself hath been pleased to reveal himself to us in the Holy Scriptures by the like suitable condescensions and accomodations. Which opinions, the better to represent their differences to the eye *uno quasi intuitu*, for their more easy conveying to the understanding by that means, and the avoiding of confusion and tedious discoursings, I reduced into five schemes or tables, much after the manner as I had used to draw pedigrees, (a thing which I think you know I have very much fancied, as to me of all others the most delightful recreation); of which scheme, some special friends to whom I shewed them, desired copies: who, as it seemeth, valuing them more than I did, (for divers men have copies of them, as I hear, but I do not know that I have any such myself) communicated them farther, and so they are come into many hands. These are they which doctor Reynolds, in his Epistle prefixed to master Barlee's *Correptory Correction*, had taken notice of. Having all these schemes before my eyes at once, so as I might with ease compare them one with another, and having considered of the conveniences and inconveniences of each, as well as I could, I soon discerned a necessity of quiting the *Sub-lapsarian* way, of which I had a better liking before, as well as the *Supra-lapsarian*, which I could never fancy." Dr. Hammond's *Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees* A. D. 1660. Hammond's *Works* Vol. I. p. 669. It may be worth observing that this collection of schemes or tables must not be confounded with the tract published by Isaac Walton under the title *Pax Ecclesiæ*, which Walton attributes to the year 1625, In that tract it is plain, that he still retains the Sub-lapsarian opinion: and there are other reasons to prove that the tracts are not the same.

here

here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, that unhappy long parliament, and some debates of the predestinarian points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend dean of Salisbury. And here the reader may note, that in letters writ to the said dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have altered his judgment in some points, since he writ his scheme called *Pax Ecclesiæ*, which he seems to say in his last will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his majesty then in his progress took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants, which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities: but, this is mentioned, because at the kings coming thither, May 3, Sanderson did then attend him; and was then (the 31 of August) created doctor of divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made doctors and masters of art with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his (and none shall out-live it). First Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then bishops of Winton and of Norwich (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge) were with him created doctors of divinity in his University. So was Merick the son of the learned Isaac Causabon: and prince Rupert (who still lives), the then duke of Lenox, earl of Hereford, earl of Essex, of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth (too many to be named) were then created masters of arts.

Some years before this unhappy long parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace (though

 inwardly

inwardly sick of being well), namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the king for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation: but this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request; so that though forbidden by the king, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered New-Castle, where the king was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty and some concessions, he sent them back (though not so rich as they intended, yet) for that time without any blood-shed. But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the fore-runners of war, and the many miseries that followed. For in the year following there were so many chosen into the long parliament, that were of a conjunct council with these very zealous, and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would restore them to that former tranquility which they had lost. And to that end, the presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes, and in their hats with this motto, *For the Crown and Covenant of both Kingdoms.*

Kingdoms. This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the blood-shed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning! when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the covenanters of this nation, and their party in parliament, made many exceptions against the common-prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for another reformation. And though their desires seemed not reasonable to the king and the learned Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the dean of Westminster's house, (for the space of five months or more). But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation

deration and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642, proposed by both houses of parliament to the king then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the king to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two houses of parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines, to debate and settle church controversies (of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge:) in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the king's authority.

And here I must look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21.) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be *professor regius* of divinity in Oxford; but though *knowledge* be said *to puff up*, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons (expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed) kept him from entering into it till October 1646.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very seraphical, and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satify the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of it, and oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at least very useful to their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures *de conscientia*,

conscientia, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that part of casuistical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures (the king being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the parliament then at Westminster sent the *Covenant*, the *Negative Oath*, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the doctor of the chair, and all heads of houses: and all the other inferior scholars of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day: for those that did not were to abandon their colleges and the University too, within 24 hours after the beating of a drum; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered, but the king yet was not; and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, betwixt him and them that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made, that the dissenters in the University might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless, as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed the delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a *manifesto* to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences:

And

And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon (late archbishop of Canterbury) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley (now bishop of Winchester) and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part: the rest I cannot now name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires, and did so. And then after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the independants (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the king from a close to a more large imprisonment, and by their own pretences to *liberty of conscience*, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the king, who had in the year 1646, sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon (the late archbishop of Canterbury) and Dr. Morley (the now bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the parliament for a peace in church and state; but these having been then denied by the presbyterian parliament, were now by their own rules

rules allowed him [4] by those independants now in present power. And with some of those divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his majesty in the Isle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private conferences with him, to his majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of episcopal government in the church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling their's and the cathedral church-land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our king's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his majesty in this his last attendance on him, the king requested him to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity. To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the king was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sandersom; for no young man was fit to be made a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious king was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, "That if he assented not to the parliament's proposals, the treaty betwixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be in danger; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have done

[4] *Allowed him.*] See Life of Dr. Hammond in this Vol. p. 361, note.

what

what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals and cannot, and I will not lose my conscience to save my life;" and within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, "That the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance" (I think barefoot) "from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon." I am sure one of them that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's Lectures *de Juramento* were so approved and valued by the king, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude, he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon (then bishop of London), Dr. Hammond, and sir Thomas Herbert (who then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that king's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by sir William Dugdale, king at arms. The translation was designed to be put into the king's library at St. James's, but I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honor of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the *covenant*, *negative oath*, and *parliament ordi-*

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nance for church discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods. But notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did to the very faces of those presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they without scruple or shame, possessed themselves immediately of their colleges; so that with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then canon of Christ-church (now lord bishop of Winchester) and others, to petition the parliament for re-calling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the house, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed: but there had been so many committed

committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially; for at this time the privileges of that part of the parliament then sitting were become a *noli me tangere;* as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now to the church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for not compliance with the parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the dissenters out of the University. And one that was at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and enquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "He had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so doing he should without taking any oath or other molestation, enjoy his canon's place in the college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he professed,

fessed, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the doctor word; to which his answer was, "That I must not fail to return my friend" (who still lives) "his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when Dr. Fell" (then the dean) "Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the college, were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame to be left behind with him only." Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, *for he is dead.*

It may be easily imagined, with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistance: but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple; where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the covenant, or forbear reading common-prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted, that about this time the parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all lay-men that had occasion to complain of their ministers, for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of parliament, to make their complaint to a select committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; (and you

you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant:) by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, "professing not to open them till justice was executed." *This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.*

The bishops had been about this time voted out of the house of parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many covenanters rejoice, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his Comment on the *Apocalypse;* a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets and called Mr. Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*, and both bought up and believed by all the covenanters. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, (which had no bishops) to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, *that angel that God loved;* and the power of prelacy to be *Antichrist*, the evil angel, which the house of commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity: therefore did those covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good penny-worths of all their land, which their friends of the house of commons, did afford

afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not preach true doctrine: and by this and the like means several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow.

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, *for he was beholden to him;* and the other that he was not, *for he was not beholden to him.* And something like this was in the designs both of the covenanters and independants (the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former:) for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the covenant; and the other not; for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear the covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down common prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They

They also made other strange observations of *election*, *reprobation*, and *free-will*, and the other points dependant upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannel.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very covenanter and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch presbyterian being well settled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large ewe tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners: and they excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, "That the trees were his, and 'twas lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as others thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it) that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and, that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: I speak this because I would not suppose any man to do what this covenanter did: and whether there were any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less, for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothy Pannel, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise. For all corners of

the nation were filled with covenanters, confusion, committee-men and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian * saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations; and so though there might be some of these covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he. For the soldiers would appear, and visibly oppose and disturb him in the church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably; which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church service, they forced his book from him, and tore it[5], expecting extemporary prayers.

At

* Thucydides.

5 *Tore it.*] "And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire; but it is not consumed. At first it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears: yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers; and the Church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness. But it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the Church of England. Indeed the

At this time he was advised by a parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the *common prayer*, but to make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration: for which reasons he did vary somewhat[6] from the strict rules of the Rubrick. I will set down the very words of confession which he used

the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer Book had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing: and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not in that action consult the honour of our Liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publickly permitted to our practice and profession." Bp. Taylor's Preface to his Apology for authorized and set forms of Liturgy, at the end.

[6] *Did vary somewhat.*] In a long letter, subjoined to the first edition of this life, under the title of Bishop Sanderson's *Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers*, a full account is given of his manner of performing the whole public service of the Church; which was in every respect studiously conformed, as much as the times would bear, to the English Liturgy. A similar practice was very generally followed by the loyal Clergy. Mr. Bull, afterwards the celebrated bishop of St. Davids, occasionally resorted to another expedient. "He was sent for to baptize the child of a Dissenter in his parish; upon which occasion he made use of the office of baptism, as prescribed by the Church of England, *which he had got entirely by heart;* and he went through it with so much readiness and freedom, and yet with so much gravity and devotion, and gave that life and spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole audience was extremely affected with his performance; and notwithstanding

used, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

His Confession.

"O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties,

withstanding that he used the sign of the cross, yet, they were so ignorant of the offices of the Church, that they did not thereby discover that it was the Common Prayer. But after that he had concluded that holy action, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the same time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his assistance in their *extempore* effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms; and that if he had not made the sign of the cross, that badge of Popery, as he called it, no body could have formed the least objection against his excellent prayers. Upon which, Mr. Bull hoping to recover him from his ill-grounded prejudices, shewed him the Office of Baptism in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion; which, with farther arguments that he then urged, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that they always after that time frequented the Parish Church, and never more absented themselves from Mr. Bull's communion. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that as a mistaken zeal may throw contempt upon what justly deserves to be admired; so also, that gravity, seriousness, and devotion, in reading the prayers are necessary to secure that respect to the Liturgy which its own excellency requireth from us." *Life of Bishop Bull by Robert Nelson, Esq.* p. 39. edit. 2.

which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked: have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders: spare us good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In these and other provocations of tearing his service book; a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said; "God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children, where I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so; but I will labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place * of great reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the last; yet I submit: for God did not send

* Doctor of the Chair.

me

me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will; and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed; still justifying the truth of that doctrine and the reason of that discipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of the King's *Meditations in his Solitude* was printed, and made public: and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the author, and so desirous that not this nation only, but the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which he and many others then suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation and rest with him for some days at Boothby Pannel, and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it; Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond (looking on his sermon as written) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him: for it was discernable to many of that plain auditory. But

when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good doctor give me my sermon, and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good doctor be not angry; for if ever I persuade you to preach again without book, I will give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time, to discourse Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly; it was about those knotty points, which are by the learned called the *quinquarticular controversy;* of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that) but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought, and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached "That all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endeavour to avoid the latter." Others, "That it was not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world;" affirming therefore, "that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is most certain every man can

can do what he can to be saved; and as certain that he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned:" and yet many that affirmed this to be a truth, would yet confess, "That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend dean of Salisbury) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his *Practical Catechism* affirmed, "That our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind." To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works.) After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he reverenced and loved dearly) and would not therefore engage himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what past betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader

reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margent find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says, "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these 52 ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the *quinquarticular controversy;* for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment[7], but confess it to the honour

[7] *Their alteration of judgment.*] Another very eminent contemporary, whose sentiments concerning the Calvinistical points appear to have undergone, at a much later period of his life, a change very similar to that which took place in those of his friend Dr. Sanderson, was the truly pious and primitive Archbishop

nour of God and themselves; then, our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am

Archbishop Usher; who had often exerted himself as an earnest and public advocate and propagator of those notions, which he latterly disclaimed.

"To your queries" (says Dr. Hammond in a letter to Mr. Peter Staninough, dated June 12, 1657,) "all that I have to return is, *first*, that that bishop did *for many years* acknowledge universal redemption, *but* that with *a distinction* of *non ex æquo pro omnibus.—Secondly*, that *a little before his leaving London* (I was told it by some that heard him about this time two years) at St. Peter's Paul-wharf, as also in several other places, he preached a sermon, which himself called a soul-saving sermon, on Rom. viii. 30, part of the verse, *whom he called them he justified*, in which he earnestly pressed the sincerity of God's universal call to *every one* of *all* sinners to whom the Gospel was preached; pressing throughout all his sermon the universal free invitation of all by God. Apocal. xxii. 17. *Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely;* Isaiah lv. 1, 7. *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon:* adding, that without this made good, all preaching to convert sinners as yet in their sins from the evil of their ways, would want a firm foundation.

"*Thirdly*, that a learned Divine going after this to him, and taking rise from these words of his, *that God intended truly that all whom he called by the word to repent and believe, might certainly if they would, and God truly would they should, come and repent, &c.* to ask, *Can they all will? Doth God, with his word, give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent, &c. if they will; and that they certainly can will?* He answered, *Yes, they all can will. And that so many will not, 'tis because, as I then taught, they resist God's grace;* alledging, Acts vii. 51. Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. This and much more he then declared; and in fine concluded in these words, *Bishop Overal was in the right, and I am of his mind.*

"*Fourthly.* A learned Doctor that was frequently with the Bishop, wrote Mr. Pierce word (as he wrote me, on my asking him

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannel, till I have looked back to the

him the same question which you do me) *that that bishop told him lately before his death, that he wholly disliked the Genevan form of doctrine in this matter.* This is all that hath come within my reach of your *first* question." See *Nineteen Letters of the Rev. Henry Hammond, D. D. now first published from the originals by Francis Peck,* M. A. London, 1739. 8vo. p. 17. The testimonies and certificates of Dr. Brian Walton, Mr. Peter Gunning, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike, of which the above extract is the sum, are published at full length by Dr. Thomas Pierce; in an Appendix to the *Self-revenger exemplified in Mr. William Barlee;* London, 1658. 4to. p. 155—157. A similar change in sentiment is recorded of themselves by the above-mentioned Dr. Thomas Pierce, by Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dr. Daniel Whitby, and many others.

But especially, the reader will be gratified by the grave, solemn, and pious narrative to that effect related by Dr. Christopher Potter, Dean of Windsor, in a letter to Mr. Vicars, republished at Cambridge in the year 1719, in a very valuable *Collection of Tracts concerning Predestination and Providence.* Having been taxed by his friend with the desertion of his former principles, and the charge being coupled with an insinuation, that this change was brought about by court-influence, and put on to please Abp. Laud, &c. "It appears" (says he) "by the whole tenour of your letter, that you are affected with a strong suspicion, that I am turned Arminian; and you further guess at the motive, that some sprinkling of Court Holy-Water, like an exorcism hath enchanted and conjured me into this new shape. How loth am I to understand your meaning! And how fain would I put a fair interpretation upon these foul passages, if they were capable! What man! not an Arminian only, but hired into that faith by carnal hopes! one that can value his soul at so poor a rate, as to sell it to the times, or weigh or sway his conscience with money! My good Friend, how did you thus forget me, and yourself; and the strict charge of our Master, *Judge not?* Well; you have my pardon: and God Almighty confirm it unto you with his! But to prevent your error and sin in this kind hereafter, I desire you to believe that I neither am, nor ever will be Arminian. I am resolved to stand fast in that liberty, which my Lord hath so dearly bought for me. In divine truths, my conscience

the long parliament, the society of covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings

science cannot serve men, or any other master besides him who hath his chair in Heaven. I love Calvin very well: and I must tell you, I cannot hate Arminius. And for my part, I am verily persuaded that these two are now where they agree well, in the kingdom of Heaven; whilst some of their passionate disciples are so eagerly brawling here on earth.——— But because you are my friend, I will yet farther reveal myself unto you. I have laboured long and diligently in these controversies, and I will tell you with what mind and method, and with what success.

"For some years in my youth, when I was most ignorant, I was most confident: before I knew the true state, or any grounds of those questions, I could peremptorily resolve them all. And upon every occasion, in the very pulpit, I was girding and railing upon these new Heretics, the Arminians, and I could not find words enough to decipher the folly and absurdity of their doctrine; especially I abhorred them as venemous enemies of the precious Grace of God, whereof I ever was, and ever will be most jealous and tender, as I am most obliged, holding all I am, or have, or hope for by that glorious grace. Yet all this while, I took all this that I talked upon trust, and knew not what they (the Arminians) said or thought, but by relation from others, and from their enemies. And because my conscience in secret would often tell me, that railing would not carry it in matters of religion, without reason, and divine authority; that I might now solidly maintain God's truth, as it becomes a minister, out of God's word, and clearly vindicate it from wicked exceptions; and that I might not only revile and scratch the adversary, but beat, and wound him, and fight it out, *fortibus armis, non solum fulgentibus*, I betook myself seriously and earnestly to peruse the writings of both parties; and to observe and balance the Scriptures produced for both parties. But my aim in this inquiry was not to inform myself whether held the truth, (for therein I was extremely confident, presuming it was with US, and reading the opposers with prejudice and detestation), but the better to fortify our tenets against their cavils and subtilties.

"In the mean while, knowing that all light and illumination in divine mysteries, descends from above from the father and fountain of all light, without whose influence and instruction

proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed to appease the popular fury of that present

tion all our studies are most vain and frivolous; I resolved constantly and daily to solicit my gracious God, with most ardent supplications, as I shall still continue, that he would be pleased to keep his poor servant in his true faith and fear; that he would preserve me from all false and dangerous errors, how specious or plausible soever; that he would fill my heart with true holiness and humility; empty it of all pride, vain-glory, curiosity, ambition, and all other carnal conceits and affections, which usually blind and pervert the judgment; that he would give me the Grace to renounce and deny my foolish reason in those holy studies, and teach me absolutely to captivate my thoughts to the obedience of his heavenly word; finally, that he would not permit me to speak or think any thing, but what were consonant to his Scriptures, honourable and glorious to his majesty.

"I dare never look upon my books, till I have first looked up to heaven with these prayers. Thus I begin, thus I continue, and thus conclude my studies. In my search, my first and last resolution was, and is, to believe only what the Lord tells me in his book: and because all men are liars, and the most of men factious, to mark not what they say, but what they prove. Though I must confess, I much favoured my own side, and read what was written against it with exceeding indignation; especially when I was pinched, and found many objections to which I could find no answers. Yet in spite of my judgment, my conscience stood as it could; and still multiplying my prayers, and recurring to my oracle, I repelled such thoughts, as temptations.—Well; in this perplexity I went on; and first observed the judgments of this age, since the Reformation. And here I found in the very Harmony of the Confessions some little discord in these opinions, but generally, and the most part of our Reformed Churches favouring the Remonstrants: and among particular writers, many here differing in judgments, though nearly linked in affection, and all of them eminent for learning and piety; and being all busied against the common adversary, the Church of Rome, these little differences amongst themselves were wisely neglected and concealed. At length, some of our own gave occasion, I fear, to these intestine and woeful wars, letting fall some speeches very scandalous, and which cannot be maintained. This

present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my

This first put the Lutheran churches in a fresh alarm against us, and imbittered their hatred: and now, that which was but a question, is made a quarrel; that which before was fairly and sweetly debated between private doctors, is now become an appeal to contention between whole reformed churches, they in one army, we in the other. But still the most wise and holy in both parties desired a peace, and ceased not to cry with tears, *Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye strive?* and with all their power laboured that both the armies might be joined under the Prince of Peace.

"But whilst these laboured for peace, there never wanted some eager spirits, that made all ready for war; and whose nails were still itching till they were in the wounds of the Church; for they could not believe they had any zeal, unless they were furious; nor any faith, unless they wanted all charity. And by the wicked diligence of these *Boutefeus*, that small spark, which at first a little moderation might have quenched, hath now set us all in a woeful fire, worthy to be lamented with tears of blood.————

—" But now you long to hear, what is the issue of all my study and inquiry; what my resolution. Why, you may easily conjecture. Finding upon this serious search, that all doubts are not clearly decided by Scripture; that in the ancient Church, after the age of St. Augustine, who was presently contradicted by many Catholics, as you may see in the Epistles of Prosper and Fulgentius to him upon that very occasion, they have ever been friendly debated, and never determined in any Council; that in our age, whole Churches are here divided, either from one another, as the Lutherans from us; or amongst themselves, as the Romanists, amongst whom the Dominican family is wholly for the Contra-Remonstrants; that in all these several Churches, some particular doctors vary in these opinions: out of all this I collect, for my part, that these points are no necessary Catholic verities, not essential to the faith, but merely matters of opinion, problematical, of inferior moment, wherein a man may err, or be ignorant without danger to his soul; yet so still, that the glory of God's justice, mercy, truth, sincerity, and divine grace be not any ways blemished, nor any good ascribed to man's corrupt will, or any evil to God's Decree of Providence; wherein I can assure you I do not

my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us; that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples), *pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used him.* And not only pardoned those enemies; but dispassionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them; and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, that they would pardon and pray for him. But though he did all this, yet, he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, *that the parliament would hasten his execution.* And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died) he declared with

not depart from my ancient judgment, but do well remember what I affirmed in my questions at the Act, and have confirmed it, I suppose, in my Sermon. So you see, I am still where I was. If I can clearly discover any error or corruption in myself, or any other, I should hate it with all my might: but pity, support, and love all that love the Lord Jesus, though they err in doubtful points; but never break charity, unless with him that obstinately errs in fundamentals, or is wilfully factious. And with this moderation I dare with confidence and comfort enough appear before my Lord at the last day, when I fear what will become of him that loves not his brother, that divine precept of love being so often ingeminated; why may I not, when the Lord himself hath assured me by his *Beati Pacifici?* You tell me of a Dean that should say, *Maledicti Pacifici*; but you and he shall give me leave in this contradiction, rather to believe my Saviour." Tracts, p. 230, &c.

sadness,

sadness, "That the several sects and divisions then in England" (which he had laboured to prevent) "were now like to bring the pope a far greater harvest, than he could ever have expected without them." And said, "these sects and divisions introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion;" and, "that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion;" and, "that by these means the church of England, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those (covenanters) which were his accusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death: for which, and more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same fear of popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of sermons; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he was and apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these covenanters ought to take notice of it; and to remember, that by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him: but, this benefit is so like *time past*, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannel, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but

but neither can now be found there: for, the first was in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, (the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannel), who was an active man for the parliament and covenant; and one that, when Belvoire Castle (then a garrison for the parliament) was taken by a party of the king's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark, (then a garrison of the king's;) a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, "He must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the king's garrison of Newark." There were many reasons given by the doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were unefectual: for done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was upon the following conditions.

First, That Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other

other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe, nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burthen by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet by his providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife and children, till the happy restoration of our king and church.

In this time of his poor, but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience; some known to him, and many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet, as St. Paul accounted himself *a debtor to all men*, so he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy, or doing kindnesses;" then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of consolation, Dr. Sanderson, might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, *are a burden that none can bear*, though their fortitude may sustain their other calamities: and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience

conscience relieved from such restless agonies, then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion; and, that God had inclined his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters, have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely,

1. Of the sabbath.
2. Marrying with a recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the king's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive so many mistaken patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown restless and giddy by the many falshoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time, he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger;

yet, he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last twenty sermons, (first printed in the dangerous year 1655): in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered living, and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested, (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, (for there is a divine power in reason) that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was to sustain if he consented to it (and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned) he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface had upbraided the parliament, and many godly ministers of that party for unjust dealing." To which his reply was, (it was Tim. Garthwaite) "That it was not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books; and yet if he, or any friend of his would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London in sad-coloured cloaths, and God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently; and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind rose, and the

rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader.

He seemed to lament that the parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood: and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at least, pretend to make better prayers *extempore:* and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the *Common Prayer* of the church, saying, "The Holy Ghost seemed to assist the composers: and, that the effect of a constant use of it would be, to melt and form the soul into holy thoughts and desires: and beget habits of devotion." This he said: and "that the Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant comprehensive expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and that, so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known

known desires for pardon of sins, and their praises for mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw unpremeditated expressions which many understood not, and to which many of the hearers could not say Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose, "That they were the treasury of christian comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities; able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; able to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leisure for what we beg: able to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and providence of our creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his will; and then (and not till then) to believe ourselves happy." This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our souls' comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner[3] he expressed himself, and sorrow, concerning the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about *free-will*, *election*, and *reprobation*, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions,

[3] *After this manner.*] Compare to the same effect the beautiful passages in Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. sect. 37—39; and Bishop Horne's Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Psalms, near the end. See Life of Ferrar, p. 193. note.

but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "They might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were *elected*, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though it is evidently false; that to speak evil of government, and to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin." These, and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blest, before the unhappy Covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "That the way to restore this nation to a more meek and christian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known by the common people) to be put into 52 homilies [9], or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed

[9] *Fifty-two homilies.*] At a subsequent period, a similar wish was, among other noble designs for the advancement of piety, entertained by the excellent Archbishop Tillotson. The scheme, it is unnecessary to say, has never been executed. Bishop Burnet, in the year 1713, published seven sermons as a specimen of this undertaking; in the preface to which he has detailed at considerable length the model which was intended to be pursued. The design appears so commendable, and so capable of being converted, even in *private* hands, to salutary purposes, that, it is presumed, its insertion in this place will not be thought an unsuitable incumbrance.

"About

exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's reading, and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what

" About three and twenty years ago, Archbishop Tillotson, being then Dean of St. Pauls, but designed for that high dignity, to which he was afterwards advanced, entered into a long conversation with bishop Patrick, then bishop of Chichester, and myself, concerning a design he had formed of a new book of Homilies; not that he intended to lay aside the book of Homilies already established, but to add a new one to that we have had now for above an hundred and fifty years.

" He thought that was not full enough: and that it was, according to the state of things at the time in which it was composed, fitted chiefly to settle people's minds right with relation to the Reformation, and in opposition to Popery.

" He thought that such a work had been of great use to the nation; but that another book of Homilies, that should contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Christian religion; such as should give a clear explanation of every thing relating to our holy faith, or to the conduct of our lives, was necessary, chiefly for the instruction of the clergy; and it might be also a Family Book for the general use of the whole nation.

" He proposed that it should consist of threescore and two Homilies; two and fifty for all the Sundays of the year, and ten for (if I remember right) the following Holidays. For Christmas; 2d, for the Circumcision; 3d, for Epiphany; 4, for Christ's presentment in the Temple; 5th, for the Annunciation; 6th, for Good Friday; 7th, for the Ascension; 8th, for the Monday and Tuesday in Easter-week; 9th, for the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-week; and the 10th for Ash Wednesday.

" He designed the book should begin at Advent, in this order. The first should give a view of the Mosaical Dispensation: the second was to explain the prophecies concerning the Messias, during the first temple: the third was to explain the prophecies in the captivity in Daniel, and the others during the second temple: the fourth was to shew what were the defects in that dispensation, and what was necessary to establish a better covenant, upon better promises; with a particular view of the nature of the Priest-hood, it being Ordination Sunday.

" Then

what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some plain applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every

"Then from Christmas all to Ash-Wednesday in a series of several sermons, the circumstances of the Doctrine, the Parables, and the Miracles of Christ were to be copiously opened, with these particulars: on the feast of the Circumcision, Baptism was to be explained, as come instead of it: on Epiphany, the calling of the Gentiles, with the progress that the Christian religion made, and the destruction of Jerusalem, with the persecutions that followed, were to be opened. On the Presentment in the Temple, the compliance with the authorised rituals of religion, even though the body of a church was much corrupted, both with false doctrines and superstitious practices was to be made out; but with the necessary limitations of such a degree of corruption, as should make a separation from the body not only lawful, but necessary. On the feast of Annunciation, the hymns of the Blessed Virgin, of Zachary, and Simeon, as being parts of the daily worship, were to be paraphrased, and explained; on Ash-Wednesday and the three first Sundays in Lent, the whole doctrine of repentance was to be fully enlarged on; restitution, and the reparation of injuries were to be much pressed: then the guilt of sin, with the just punishments due for it, both in this life, and in the next, were to be set forth, to prepare men for a just sense of the mercies of God in Christ. On the Sunday before Easter, the institution of the Lord's Supper, and every thing relating to it were to be rightly stated. On Good Friday, the sufferings and death of Christ were to be fully set forth. On Easter day, the resurrection was the proper subject; both the evidence of it, and the effects of it were to be enlarged on. For Monday and Tuesday in that week, the doctrine of the resurrection, of the judgment to come, and of the blessedness of the Saints in heaven, were to be opened.

"In the six Sundays to Whitsuntide, the doctrine of Justification was to be explained; and some expressions in the First Book, that seemed to carry Justification by Faith only, to a height that wanted some mitigation, were to be well examined; and all that St. Paul had writ on that head, both to the Romans, and the Galatians, was to be explained, and reconciled to what St. James wrote on the same subject. Next Sanctification was to be right stated; Faith and Hope were to be explained. The mission of the Apostles, and of their successors,

every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a set time; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following."

And

cessors, the bishops and pastors of the Church, with their authority and its limits were to be asserted. Christ's Ascension, and his kingdom, as the Messias, was next to be proved, and explained. The great effusion of the Holy Ghost on Whitsunday was next to be dwelt on; upon which the authority of the New Testament is to be proved, in opposition to tradition; and the authenticalness of the Scriptures, as they are now in our hands, was to be made out. For the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week the necessity of inward assistances was to be shewn, and to be guarded against the danger of enthusiasm. On Trinity Sunday, that great article of the Christian religion, of the unity of the God-head, and that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were one God, was to be proved, and settled; with an exhortation to all in Holy Orders, to remember their vows, and to live and labour suitably to their profession.

"In the Sundays after Trinity, the sum of the Ten Commandments, and every one of the ten, with the duties relating to it, were to be fully opened; in particular, Humility, Meekness, and Contentment, with a freedom from Envy and Covetousness, were to be well set out. After this, some Sermons were to be added concerning Prayer, with a particular enlargement on all the parts of the Lords Prayer: and the year was to end in some sermons, charging home on the people the care of their souls, and their duty to Almighty God, the creator of all things, and the governor of the world, and the Saviour of all that believe.

"This is the substance of that scheme, that in a long conversation was thus digested; and which the Archbishop said that he would communicate to others, to be corrected, or improved, as they should advise. In order to this, Bishop Patrick undertook to examine carefully the Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, to see how they agreed with this scheme, and to gather what other portions out of the Gospels and Epistles he could choose, that should agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects proper for them: and from some discourse with him afterwards, I conclude that he had made a good progress in it; whether he finished it, or not, I cannot tell.

"At

And he explained the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, "All grammar scholars, that are often shifted, from one to another school, learn neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those that are constant to one good master: because, by the several rules of teaching in those several schools they learn less, and become more and more confused; and at last, so puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves useless both to themselves and others. And so do the immethodical, useless, needless notions that are delivered in many sermons, make the hearers; but a clear and constant rule of teaching us what we are to know and do, and what not, and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the nation to a more consci-

"At that time, the King and Queen set out Proclamations against profane swearing, breach of Sabbath, lewdness, and drunkenness; so the Archbishop put it upon me to draw, for an essay, Homilies on these subjects. He said he would take a large share of the work to himself: the like bishop Patrick also was willing to undertake; and he knew several persons who had considered some matters relating to the scheme very critically, to whom he would assign such parts of it, as they would be both very willing and able to execute well. He also told me, that he had proposed the design to the present reverend and most learned bishop of Worcester" (Dr. Lloyd) "who highly approved of it, but would take no other share in it, than the revising the several compositions that were given in towards the finishing the work. He said he would read them carefully, and make such remarks and corrections as should occur to him, with his utmost care and exactness.

"But soon after this, we found a spirit of opposition and contradiction grew so strong, and it was so much animated and supported, that we saw it was to no purpose to struggle against it at that time. Therefore this, with many other good designs, were reserved to a better opportunity, and no further progress was made in it. So since these two worthy prelates are dead, I thought it was fit for me to give this account of it to the world, that it may not be quite lost; and to offer it with the following essay that was intended to be a part of it."

entious

entious practice of what we know, and ought to do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reason of this his desire: and oh! that he had undertaken what he advised; for then, in all probability it would have proved so useful, that the present age would have been blest by it; and, posterity would have blest him for it.

And at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, "O that I had gone chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended, when he first went ambassador to the state of Venice: for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not only with him, but with several men of several nations; and might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and besides, by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning, prudence, and modesty, sir Henry Wootton's dear friend, Padre Paulo, who, the author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: a man whose fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader.

He lamented much, that in those times of confusion in many parishes, where the maintenance was

was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner as they could not with a good conscience take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, "The blessed sacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received that last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and also to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings; and that done to bewail them seriously, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's commands better, and beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last sick-beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an endearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, and so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conscience.

conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful; his integrity visible; and his whole life so unspotted, so like the primitive christians, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the clergy especially; who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God, whose pure eyes abhor iniquity; and, especially in them.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetorick, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect. But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius without book; and would say, "The repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself," (which he did often) "was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it voluntarily to themselves or friends." And though he was blest with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to *determine;* so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say of him, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever

soever this suggested, that disliked and controuled; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not (probably) what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever *determined* with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not suffer his mind to be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions, yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness: always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family, nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, *That his praise should be always in his mouth.*

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and much more might be added of all: but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men, clergy-men especially, were sufferers; namely, about

about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate: and in that time Mr. Robert Boyle (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually met with, and read his lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow, (the now learned bishop of Lincoln), 50l. and with it a request and promise. The request was, "That he would review the lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity;" (and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659.) And the promise was, "That he would pay him that, or if he desired it, a greater sum yearly, during his life to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in church and state: when amazement and fear had seized most of them by foreseeing, they must now not only vomit up the church's, and the king's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the God of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward

ward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him. When these wretches (that had said to themselves "*We shall see no sorrow,*") were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our king's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it. Then the 29th of May following, the king was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were after many thoughtful days, and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number.

At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the presbyterian severities, the doctor said to a friend, "I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times with amazement and thankfulness; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independants have punished, and supplanted them as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (so many as still live) restored to their lawful right; and, as the prophet David hath taught me, so I say with a thankful heart, *Verily, there is a God that judgeth the earth: And, a reward for the righteous.*"

It

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and often refused it. For, they conscientiously considered that the office of a bishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labour and care: that they were trusted to be of God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the church's good, and the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others; and that the account of that stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the searcher of all hearts: and for these reasons they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the king's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which (God knows) we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; as namely, that at the king's return Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent archbishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better) was by his majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishopricks. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the king that he would nominate him: and that done,

done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would "For God's and the church's sake take that charge and care upon him." Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say, "He had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others."

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishoprick, and am next to tell that he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a christian care taken, that those whose consciences were (as they said) tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience and reason; but all proved ineffectual. For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy[1] in the Strand: and the

[1] *The Savoy.*] For a large account of the Savoy Conference, See Baxter's *Life*. p. 303, &c. Also Collier's *Ecclesiast. History*, Vol. 2. p. 876—886.

points

points debated were, I think, many; (and I think many of them needless) some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved that the day following the desires and reasons of the non-conformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter was one, and I am sure also one of the points debated was "Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful command?"—This following proposition was brought by the conforming party.

"That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: one was, "Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." Another was, "That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence *per accidens* any sin is consequent

 which

which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason then given in with his own hand in writing, thus; "Because the *first* act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particulary cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

Peter Gunning.
John Pearson.

These were then two of the disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now lord bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name) appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient[2] Dr. Sanderson (who was then bishop of Lincoln, and

[2] *Patient.*] Baxter speaking of Sanderson at this period, says, that he was "a very worthy man, but for that great peevishness, which injuries, partiality, temperature and age had caused in him." *Life*, &c. p. 357. See also p. 363.

a mode-

a moderator with other bishops) to say with an unusual earnestness, "That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his conversation."

But, though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in Convocation, to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the Rubrick and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary collects, with a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and, as usually, approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new necessary offices; which were, *A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr; a Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King; and for the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age.* I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the convocation; and he did also, by desire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the service-book). And it may be noted, that William, the now most reverend archbishop of Canterbury, was in these

employments diligently useful; especially in helping to rectify the calendar and rubrick. And lastly, it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy, were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may now be known by this title,—*The Preface;* and begins thus—*It hath been the wisdom of the church.*

I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his bishoprick, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannel; for there was all joy at his table when they came to visit him: then they prayed for him, and he for them, with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied but that the care and toil required of a bishop, may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Buckden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his diocese) having been, at his consecration, a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that

that the king having by an *injunction* commended to the care of the bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, "the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small vicarages;" He, when he was repairing Buckden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: so fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, "he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a christian bishop to suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor vicars that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of cheerfulness: and wished, that as *this was*, so it *were* also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence; and in the hands of a God, that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy."

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln college when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and openheartedness. This minister asked the bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, that he declined reading many books; but

but what he did read, were well chosen, and read so often that he became very familiar with them; and told him they were chiefly three, Aristotle's *Rhetorick*, Aquinas's *Secunda Secundæ*, and Tully, but chiefly his *Offices*, which he had not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age repeat without book. And told him also, the learned civilian doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ *Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*, which was a book that he thought he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much; and he told him the study of these had been his toil; but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation.

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the reader that he was of a healthful constitution, chearful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhea, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying, (indeed too much.) In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding) he made his last will, of which I shall give

give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last will give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and church-government, in these very words:

"I Robert Sanderson, doctor of divinity, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my will and testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son, and my most sweet Saviour Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the catholic church of Christ, and a true son of the church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which

which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion), as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and unpartial examination of the grounds, as well of popery as puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the father of mercies, to preserve the church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious sovereign, the reverend bishops, and the parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this church in point of religion by the late great increase of popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows.

"As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish church of Buckden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or (at the farthest) the third day after my decease; and

and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the inhabitants of Buckden; without the unnecessary expence of escutcheons, gloves, ribonds, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning gown for the preacher; whereof the former, (after my body shall be interred) to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own houshold chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains 5l. upon condition, that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will, that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription in legible roman characters,---*Depositum Roberti Sanderson nuper Lincolniensis Episcopi, qui obiit Anno Domini MDCLXII. & ætatis suæ septuagesimo sexto, Hic requiescit in spe beatæ resurrectionis.* This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever

soever testifying at my death (what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time) my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expences otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which (if bestowed in pious and charitable works) might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons." This is a part of his will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Buckden the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his just praise) told this truth, That he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his sick-bed.

His last will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbanee or care, especially, of what might concern this world. Thus as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed: still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his clergy (which are more numerous than any other bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power, to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion,

devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for him: and that it was not his desire to live a useless life, and by filling up a place, keep another out of it, that might do God and his church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "That during his being a housekeeper (which was more than forty years) there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first." He would also mention with thankfulness, "That till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor (upon himself) so much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father; and that he hoped that he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of the *Whole Duty of Man.* As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals: and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was with some earnestness, "A quarter of an hour: is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced to keep his bed. In which I desire he

may

may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his, and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for this blessing was ended, he spake to this purpose; "I have now to the great joy of my soul tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my saviour's death and passion: and with it, received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardoned, and my God at peace with me: and that I shall never have a will, or power to do any thing that may separate my soul from the love of my dear Saviour. Lord confirm this belief in me; and make me still to remember that it was thou O God that tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful protector of me to this present moment of my life: thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was not of myself but by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die remembering this, and praising thee my merciful God." The frequent repetition of the psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive christians: the psalms having in them, not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations

memorations of God's mercies, as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependance on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy psalmist said, that *his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word;* so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very psalms, that the church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning service; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening; remembering and repeating the very psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if the first-fruits of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said often, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment: and during that time, did often say to himself the 103d psalm, (a psalm that is composed of praise and consolations, fitted for

for a dying soul), and say also to himself very often these words, "*My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.*" And now his thoughts seemed to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that that King of Terrors could not surprise him *as a thief in the night;* for he had often said, "he was prepared, and longed for it." And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not, till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in consort with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them to that place, into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—it is now too late to wish that mine may be like his: (for, I am in the eighty fifth year of my age; and, God knows it hath not,) but, I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so charitable, as to say Amen.

J. W.

"Blessed is that man in whose spirit there is no guile." Psal. xxxii. 2.

DR. PIERCE DEAN OF SALISBURY, HIS LETTER TO MR. WALTON.

Good Mr. Walton,

AT my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson before the happy restoration of the king and church of England to their several rights; in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to, does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit) in his excellent book, entituled, *a Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson:* to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderson, and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet for the work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present, than from the 8th to the 23d page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a master of arts. How his first reading of

Learned

Learned Hooker had been occasioned by some puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's *Institutions,* the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin (whilst he took things upon trust) in the Sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the *Quinquarticular Controversy* into five schemes or tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the Sublapsarian way (of which he had before a better liking) as well as the Supralapsarian, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both; and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or (at least) took notice of it. And more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss (or the way he walks in) although his acute, and very learned and ancient friend.

* I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderson's own hand, which was never printed (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from his son, or from myself) That when that parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book not long before published at Paris (A. D. 1623.) by a † Spanish bishop, who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy *De Concordiâ Gratiæ & Liberi*

* Sir, I pray note, That all that follows in the Italian character, are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

† Arriba.

Arbitrii.

Arbitrii. And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them containing the four first books of twelve which he intended then to publish. "*When I had read,*" (*says Dr. Sanderson, in the following words, of the same letter*) "*his epistle dedicatory to the pope* (*Greg.* 15.) *he spake so highly of his own invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence, and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main knot of the business, other than had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the co-existence of all things past, present, and future* in mente divina realiter ab æterno, *which is the subject of his whole third book; only he interpreteth the word* realiter *so, as to import not only* præsentialitatem objectivam (*as others held before him*) *but* propriam & actualem existentiam. *Yet confesseth it is hard to make this intelligible. In his fourth book he endeavours to declare a two-fold manner of God's working* ad extra; *the one* sub ordine Prædestinationis, *of which eternity is the proper measure; the other* sub ordine Gratiæ, *whereof time is the measure. And that God worketh* fortiter *in the one* (*though not* irresistibiliter) *as well as* suaviter *in the other, wherein the free-will hath his proper working also. From the result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this opinion, that we must acknowledge the work of both* (*grace and free-will*) *in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the consistency of the infallibility of God's fore-knowledge at least* (*though not with any absolute, but conditional predestination*) *with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferior causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the* ὅτι: *but for the* τὸ πῶς, *I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And*

so came the two Acta Synodalia Dordrectana *to stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this day.*

And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not many years after, to wit, A. D. 1632, *out cometh Dr. Twiss his* Vindiciæ Gratiæ, *a large volume purposely writ against Arminius. And then notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be meddling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole book. But from the reading of it (for I read it through to a syllable) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before. But especially these three: First, that he bottometh very much of his discourse upon a very erroneous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it (I verily believe) some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this, that whatsoever is first in the intention, is last in execution, and* è converso. *Which is an error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder, how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All logicians know, there is no such universal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true maxim is but this,* Finis qui primus est in intentione, est ultimus in executione. *In the order of final causes, and the means used for that end, the rule holdeth perpetually: but in other things, it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, foreseeing such consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh consequences, but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead*

plead hard for them in large digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had undertaken to defend. Thirdly, that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary Sublapsarian way, and the Supralapsarian too, as it had diversly been declared by all that had gone before him (for the shunning of those rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon) he was forced to seek out an untrodden path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way (like a spider's web wrought out of her own bowels) hoping by that device to salve all absurdities could be objected; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed the chiefest,) so the only end of all other his decrees, and then making all those other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the studium Partium *to others, wherewith his own eyes (though of eminent perspicacity) were so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern, how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved principle (like the* Cadmean Sparti) *do mutually destroy the one the other.*

"*This relation of my passed thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give a shorter account of what they now are concerning these points.*

"*For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed. And for another account at large of bishop Sanderson's last judgment concerning God's concurrence or non-concurrence with the actions of men, and the positive entity of sins of commission, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large appendix to my*

Impartial inquiry into the nature of sin. *Sect.* 68, *p.* 193. *as far as p.* 200.

"*Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderson which lie before me, than venture the loss of my originals by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much, or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence shall direct you; using my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from*

Your affectionate
humble servant,
THO. PIERCE."

North-Tidworth,
March 5, 167⅞.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

My worthy friend Mr. Walton.

I AM heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent person, and (both for learning and piety) eminent prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and sure I am that the life and actions of that pious and learned prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I

confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years, and (in Oxon) to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was *regius professor* of divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time of our late unhappy confusions) he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein (with great candour and kindness) he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility.

Having in a letter named two or three books writ *(ex professo)* against the being of any original sin; and that Adam (by his fall) transmitted some calamity only, but no crime to his posterity; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not[3] the books, nor their authors

[3] *I name not.*] It is probable that part, at least, of the writings here referred to, are certain chapters of Jeremy Taylor's *Doctrine and practice of repentance*, and his *Deus Justificatus*, a vindication of the glory of the divine attributes in the question of original sin.

" Dr. White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, had in his possession the copies of two letters transcribed from the originals that were in the hands of Bishop Barlow. 1. Superscribed ' for Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the Library in Oxon,' and subscribed ' your very loving friend and servant, Robert Sanderson,' dated ' Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656', importuning Dr. Barlow, ' to undertake the managing that dispute in the question

thors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known) because both the doctrine, and the unadvised abettors of it are (and shall be) to me apocryphal.

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's Piety, great ability and judgment as a casuist. Discoursing with an * honourable person (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; (in which for some particular reasons) he then desired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book *De Juramento:* which having read (with great satisfaction) he asked me, if I thought the doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him with books for that purpose? I told him I believed he would: and (in a letter to the doctor) told him what great satisfaction that honourable person (and many more) had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento;* and asked him, whether he would be pleased (for the benefit of the church) to write some tract of cases of conscience? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any benefit by his books; and added further, that if any future tract

question of great importance, upon the ancient landmarks by Dr. Jeremy Taylor, so unhappily (and so unseasonably too) endeavoured to be removed, in the doctrine of original sin.' 2. Another letter of Dr. Sanderson to Dr. Barlow, at Queen's College, dated Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657,' expressing himself, 'that Dr. Taylor is so peremptory and pertinacious of his errors, as not to hearken to the sober advices of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidst the distractions of these times.' See *Kennet's Register*, p. 633." From Dr. Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives, p. 442. Edit. 2nd.

* Robt. Boyle, Esq.

of

of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly (though without any pension) set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person (before mentioned) did (by my hands) return fifty pounds to the good doctor (whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low) and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book *De Conscientiâ.* A book little in bulk; but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can (with prudence) pertinently apply them *Hic et nunc* to particular cases, may (by their light and help) rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good doctor in performing that excellent work.

And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools as *regius professor* of divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers, especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occured in the explication of the subject matter of his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive) privately asked him, what course a young divine should take in his studies to enable him to be a good casuist? His answer was, that a convenient understanding of the learned languages (at least of Hebrew, Greek and Latin) and a sufficient knowledge

knowledge of arts and sciences presupposed, there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible: 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, *quid sit actus humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus) unde habent bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being only this—*Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* He who (in these) knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can *(in hypothesi)* rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular action be so. 2. The second thing, which (he said) would be a great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general: to know what a law is; what a natural and a positive law; what is required to the *Latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis;* what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: for every case of conscience being only this—*Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evidently follows, that he, who (in these) knows not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally assure himself (or others)

others) of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious prelate; and having (by long experience) found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and (I fear) impertinent scribble, which (if nothing else) may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,

London, May 10, 1678.

THOMAS LINCOLN.

RICHARD BAXTER.

I AM much more sensible of the evil of Schism, and of the separating humour, and of gathering parties, and making several sects in the Church, than I was heretofore. For the effects have shewn us more of the mischiefs.

RICHARD BAXTER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

RICHARD BAXTER was born November 12, 1615, at High-Ercall, a village near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire; and died in London, December 8, 1691. When he was about the age of fourteen years, very deep religious impressions were made upon his mind, in the perusal of a work of Parson's the Jesuite, translated and corrected by Edmund Bunny, and intitled Parson's *Resolution.* For several years afterwards, he sustained a long and severe conflict, partly with the maladies of a weak and sickly constitution of body, and partly from the questionings of a trembling, perplexed and doubtful conscience; during which interval he carefully read over all the practical treatises in divinity which he could meet with, in search of quiet and satisfaction of mind. He did not receive the advantages of an academical education. About the usual age, he entered into the ministry, being ordained by Dr. Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester, and preached his first sermon at Dudley. After continuing in that town for nine months, he removed to Bridgnorth; and from thence, in the year 1640, to Kidderminster. There he spent two years, before the civil wars (in which he sided with the parliament), and about fourteen years after, in a most laborious and zealous discharge of the duties of his calling. When Cromwell was made Protector, though much courted by him, he refused to comply with, and to countenance his measures:

and

and likewise, after the Restoration, he would not submit to the required terms of conformity to the church of England. Hence, during a great part of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. he suffered many hardships for non-conformity.

Among his voluminous and valuable writings he left behind him a very interesting *Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London, 1696, fol.) from the conclusion of the first part of which work, the following review and censure of his own character is taken.

RICHARD BAXTER.

BECAUSE it is soul-experiments which those that urge me to this kind of writing, do expect that I should especially communicate to others, and I have said little of God's dealing with my soul since the time of my younger years, I shall only give the reader so much satisfaction, as to acquaint him truly what change God hath made upon my mind and heart since those unriper times, and wherein I now differ in judgment and disposition from myself. And for any more particular account of occurrences, and God's operations on me, I think it somewhat unsavory to recite them; seeing God's dealings are muchwhat the same with all his servants in the main, and the points wherein he varieth are usually so small, that I think not such fit to be repeated: nor have I any thing extraordinary to glory in, which is not common to the rest of my brethren, who have the same spirit, and are servants of the same Lord. And the true reason why I do adventure so far upon the censure of the world, as to tell them wherein the case is altered with me, is that I may take off young unexperienced christians from being over confident in their first apprehensions, or over valuing their first degrees of grace, or too much applauding and following unfurnished unexperienced men; but may somewhat be directed

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what mind and course of life to prefer by the judgment of one that hath tried both before them.

The temper of my *mind* hath somewhat altered with the temper of my *body*. When I was young, I was more vigorous, affectionate, and fervent in preaching, conference and prayer, than (ordinarily) I can be now; my stile was more extemporate and lax, but by the advantage of affection, and a very familiar moving voice and utterance, my preaching then did more affect the auditory, than many of the last years before I gave over preaching; but yet what I delivered was much more raw, and had more passages that would not bear the trial of accurate judgments; and my discourses had both less substance and less judgment than of late.

My understanding was then quicker, and could easilier manage any thing that was newly presented to it upon a sudden; but it is since better furnished, and acquainted with the ways of truth and error, and with a multitude of particular mistakes of the world, which then I was the more in danger of because I had only the faculty of knowing them, but did not actually know them. I was then like a man of a quick understanding that was to travel a way which he never went before, or to cast up an account which he never laboured in before, or to play on an instrument of music which he never saw before: and I am now like one of somewhat a slower understanding (by that *præmatura senectus* which weakness and excessive bleedings brought me to) who is travelling a way which he hath often gone, and is casting up an account which he hath often cast up, and hath ready at hand, and that is playing on an instrument which he hath often played on: so that I can

can very confidently say, that my judgment is much sounder and firmer now than it was then; for though I am not now as competent judge of the *actings* of my own understanding then, yet I can judge of the *effects:* and when I peruse the writings which I wrote in my younger years, I can find the footsteps of my unfurnished mind, and of my emptyness and insufficiency: so that the man that followed my judgment then, was likelier to have been misled by me, than he that should follow it now.

And yet, that I may not say worse than it deserveth of my former measure of understanding, I shall truly tell you what change I find now, in the perusal of my own writings. Those points which then I throughly studied, my judgment is the same of now, as it was then; and therefore in the substance of my religion, and in those controversies which I then searcht into, with some extraordinary diligence, I find not my mind disposed to a change: but in divers points that I studied slightly and by the halves, and in many things which I took upon trust from others, I have found since that my apprehensions were either erroneous, or very lame. And those things which I was orthodox in, I had either insufficient reasons for, or a mixture of some sound and some insufficient ones, or else an insufficient apprehension of those reasons; so that I scarcely knew what I seemed to know. And though in my writings I have found little in substance which my present judgment differeth from, yet in my *Aphorisms* and *Saints Rest* (which were my first writings) I find some raw unmeet expressions; and one common infirmity I perceive, that I put off matters with some kind of confidence, as if I had done something new or more than ordinary in them, when upon my more

mature reviews, I find that I said not half that which the subject did require: as *exempli gratia;* in the doctrine of the covenants, and of justification, but especially about the divine authority of the Scripture in the second part of *the Saints Rest;* where I have not said half that should have been said; and the reason was, because that I had not read any of the fuller sort of books that are written on those subjects, nor conversed with those that knew more than myself, and so all those things were either new or great to me, which were common and small perhaps to others: and because they all came in by the way of my own study of the naked matter, and not from books, they were apt to affect my mind the more, and to seem greater than they were. And this token of my weakness accompanied those my younger studies, that I was very apt to start up *controversies* in the way of my *practical* writings, and also more desirous to acquaint the world with all that I took to be the truth, and to assault those books by name which I thought did tend to deceive them, and did contain unsound and dangerous doctrine. And the reason of all this was, that I was then in the vigour of my youthful apprehensions; and the new appearance of any sacred truth, it was more apt to affect me, and be highlier valued, than afterward, when commonness had dulled my delight; and I did not sufficiently discern then how much in most of our controversies is verbal, and upon mutual mistakes. And withal I knew not how impatient divines were of being contradicted, nor how it would stir up all their powers to defend what they have once said, and to rise up against the truth which is thus thrust upon them, as the mortal enemy of their honour: and I knew not how hardly men's minds are changed from their former apprehensions be

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the evidence never so plain. And I have perceived, that nothing so much hindereth the reception of the truth, as urging it on men with too harsh importunity, and falling too heavily on their errors: for hereby you engage their honour in the business, and they defend their errors as themselves, and stir up all their wit and ability to oppose you. In controversies it is fierce opposition which is the bellows to kindle a resisting zeal; when if they be neglected, and their opinions lie a while despised, they usually cool and come again to themselves (though I know that this holdeth not when the greediness and increase of his followers, doth animate a sectary, even though he have no opposition). Men are so loth to be drenched with the truth, that I am no more for going that way to work; and to confess the truth. I am lately much prone to the contrary extreme, to be too indifferent what men hold, and to keep my judgment to myself, and never to mention any thing wherein I differ from another, or any thing which I think I know more than he; or at least, if he receive it not presently, to silence it, and leave him to his own opinion. And I find this effect is mixed according to its causes, which are some good, and some bad. The bad causes are 1. An impatience of men's weakness and mistaking frowardness and self-conceitedness. 2. An abatement of my sensible esteem of truths, through the long abode of them on my mind: though my judgment value them, yet it is hard to be equally affected with old and common things, as with new and rare ones. The better causes are 1. That I am much more sensible than ever of the necessity of living upon the principles of religion, which we are all agreed in, and uniting these; and how much mischief men that over-value their own opinions have done by their controversies in the church; how some have destroyed charity, and some caused

schisms by them, and most have hindered godliness in themselves and others, and used them to divert men from the serious prosecuting of a holy life; and as sir Francis Bacon saith, (in his *Essay of Peace*) that it is one great benefit of church-peace and concord, that writing controversies is turned into books of practical devotion for increase of piety and virtue. 2. And I find that it is much more for most men's good and edification, to converse with them only in that way of godliness which all are agreed in, and not by touching upon differences to stir up their corruptions; and to tell them of little more of your knowledge, than what you find them willing to receive from you as meer learners; and therefore to stay till they crave information of you (as Musculus did with the Anabaptists; when he visited them in prison, and conversed kindly and lovingly with them, and shewed them all the love he could, and never talked to them of their opinions, till at last they who were wont to call him a deceiver and false prophet, did intreat him to instruct them, and received his instructions). We mistate men's diseases when we think there needeth nothing to cure their errors, but only to bring them the evidence of truth: alas! there are many distempers of mind to be removed, before men are apt to receive that evidence. And therefore that church is happy where order is kept up, and the abilities of the ministers command a reverend submission from the hearers; and where all are in Christ's school in the distinct ranks of teachers and learners: for in a learning way men are ready to receive the truth, but in a disputing way they come armed against it with prejudice and animosity.

And I must say farther, that what I last mentioned on the by, is one of the notablest changes of

of my mind. In my youth I was quickly past my fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of controversies, and greatly delighted with metaphysical and scholastic writings (though I must needs say, my preaching was still on the necessary points): but the older I grew the smaller stress I laid upon these controversies and curiosities (though still my intellect abhorreth confusion), as finding far greater uncertainties in them, than I at first discerned, and finding less usefulness comparatively, even where there is the greatest certainty. And now it is the fundamental doctrines of the catechism, which I highliest value, and daily think of, and find most useful to myself and others. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, do find me now the most acceptable and plentiful matter, for all my meditations: they are to me as my daily bread and drink: and as I can speak and write of them over and over again, so I had rather read or hear of them, than of any of the school niceties, which once so much pleased me. And thus I observed it was with old bishop Usher, and with many other men: and I conjecture that this effect also is mixed of good and bad according to its causes.

The bad cause may perhaps be some natural infirmity and decay: and as trees in the spring shoot up into branches, leaves and blossoms; but in the autumn the life draws down into the root; so possibly, my nature conscious of its infirmity and decay, may find itself insufficient for numerous particles, and assurgency to the attempting of difficult things; and so my mind may retire to the root of christian principles; and also I have often been afraid, lest ill rooting at first, and many temptations afterwards, have made it more necessary for me than many others to retire to the root, and

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secure my fundamentals. But upon much observation I am afraid lest most others are in no better a case; and that at the first they take it for a granted thing, that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and that the soul is immortal, and that there is a heaven and a hell, &c. while they are studying abundance of scholastic superstructures, and at last will find cause to study more soundly their religion itself, as well as I have done.

The better causes are these: 1. I value all things according to their use and ends; and I find in the daily practice and experience of my soul, that the knowledge of God and Christ, and the holy Spirit, and the truth of Scripture, and the life to come, and of a holy life, is of more use to me, than all the most curious speculations. 2. I know that every man must grow (as trees do) downwards and upwards both at once; and that the roots increase as the bulk and branches do. 3. Being nearer death and another world, I am the more regardful of those things which my everlasting life or death depend on. 4. Having most to do with ignorant, miserable people, I am commanded by my charity and reason, to treat with them of that which their salvation lieth on; and not to dispute with them of formalities and niceties, when the question is presently to be determined, whether they shall dwell for ever in heaven or in hell. In a word, my meditations must be most upon the matters of my practice and my interest: and as the love of God, and the seeking of everlasting life is the matter of my practice and my interest, so must it be of my meditation. That is the best doctrine and study which maketh men better, and tendeth to make them happy. I abhor the folly of those unlearned persons, who revile or despise learning because they know not what it is: and I take not

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any piece of true learning to be useless; and yet my soul approveth of the resolution of holy Paul, who determined to know nothing among his hearers, (that is, comparatively to value and make ostentation of no other wisdom) but (the knowledge of) a crucified Christ: to know God in Christ is life eternal. As the stock of the tree affordeth timber to build houses and cities, when the small though higher multifarious branches are but to make a crow's nest, or a blaze: so the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, of heaven and holiness doth build up the soul to endless blessedness, and affordeth it solid peace and comfort; when a multitude of school niceties serve but for vain janglings and hurtful diversions and contentions: and yet I would not dissuade my reader from the perusal of Aquinas, Scotus, Ockam, Arminiensis, Durandus, or any such writer; for much good may be gotten from them: but I would persuade him to study and live upon the essential doctrines of christianity and godliness, incomparably above them all. And that he may know that my testimony is some what regardable, I presume to say, that in this I as much gainsay my natural inclination to subtilty and accurateness in knowing, as he is like to do by his, if he obey my counsel. And I think if he lived among infidels and enemies of Christ, he would find that to make good the doctrine of faith, and of life eternal, were not only his noblest and most useful study; but also that which would require the height of all his parts, and the utmost of his diligence, to manage it skillfully to the satisfaction of himself and others.

I add therefore that this is another thing which I am changed in; that whereas in my younger days I never was tempted to doubt of the truth of scripture

scripture or christianity, but all my doubts and fears were exercised at home, about my own sincerity and interest in Christ, and this was it which I called unbelief; since then my sorest assaults have been on the other side, and such they were, that had I been void of internal experience, and the adhesion of love, and the special help of God, and had not discerned more reason for my religion than I did when I was younger, I had certainly apostatized to infidelity (though for atheism or ungodliness, my reason seeth no stronger arguments, than may be brought to prove that there is no earth or air, or sun). I am now therefore much more apprehensive than heretofore, of the necessity of well-grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit: for I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ and christianity to the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to over-look the strengh of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal affection, or enthusiastic inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost in another manner is the witness of Christ and his agent in the world. The Spirit in the prophets was his first witness; and the Spirit by miracles was the second; and the Spirit by renovation, sanctification, illumination and consolation, assimilating the soul to Christ and heaven is the continued witness to all true believers: and if any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, (Rom. 8. 9.) Even as the rational soul in the child is the inherent witness or evidence, that he is the child of rational parents. And therefore ungodly persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting temptations to unbelief, and it is no wonder if Christ be a stumbling block to the Jews, and to the

Gentiles

Gentiles foolishness. There is many a one that hideth his temptations to infidelity, because he thinketh it a shame to open them, and because it may generate doubts in others; but I doubt the imperfections of most men's care of their salvation, and of their diligence and resolution in a holy life, doth come from the imperfection of their belief of christianity and the life to come. For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things eternal and of the scripture is most clear and firm, all goeth accordingly in my soul, and all temptations to sinful compliances, worldliness or flesh-pleasing, do signify worse to me, than an invitation to the stocks or Bedlam. And no petition seemeth more necessary to me than *Lord increase our faith: I believe, help thou my unbelief.*

Among truths certain in themselves, all are not equally certain unto me; and even of the mysteries of the gospel, I must needs say with Mr. Richard Hooker, Eccl. Polity [2] that whatever men may pretend, the subjective certainty cannot go beyond the objective evidence: for it is caused thereby as the print on the wax is caused by that on the seal. Therefore I do more of late than ever discern a necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the doctrine of christianity, and of beginning at natural verities, as presupposed fundamentally to supernatural (though God may when he please reveal all at once, and even natural truths by supernatural revelation): and it is a marvellous great help to my faith, to find it built on so sure a foundation, and so consonant to the law of nature. I am not so foolish as to pretend my certainty to be greater than it is, meerly because it is a dishonour

[2] *Ecclesiastical Polity.*] Not there: but in his Sermon on Habak. i. 4, and his Answer to Travers's Supplication §. 9. and 10. Compare Vol. IV. p. 247, of this Collection.

to

to be less certain; nor will I by shame be kept from confessing those infirmities, which those have as much as I, who hypocritically reproach me with them. My certainty that I am a man, is before my certainty that there is a God, for *quod facit notum est magis notum:* my certainty that there is a God, is greater than my certainty that he requireth love and holiness of his creature: my certainty of this is greater than my certainty of the life of reward and punishment hereafter: my certainty of that, is greater than my certainty of the endless duration of it, and of the immortality of individuate souls: my certainty of the Deity is greater than my certainty of the christian faith: my certainty of the christian faith in its essentials, is greater than my certainty of the perfection and infallibility of all the holy scriptures: my certainty of that is greater than my certainty of the meaning of many particular texts, and so of the truth of many particular doctrines, or of the canonicalness of some certain books. So that as you see by what gradations my understanding doth proceed, so also my certainty differeth as the evidences differ. And they that have attained to greater perfection, and a higher degree of certainty than I, should pity me and produce their evidence to help me. And they that will begin all their certainty with that of the truth of the scripture, as the *principium cognoscendi*, may meet me at the same end; but they must give me leave to undertake to prove to a heathen or infidel, the being of a God; and the necessity of holiness, and the certainty of a reward or punishment, even while he yet denieth the truth of scripture, and in order to his believing it to be true.

In my younger years my trouble for sin was most about my actual failings in thought, word, or action,

action, (except hardness of heart, of which more anon). But now I am much more troubled for inward defects, and omission or want of the vital duties or graces in the soul. My daily trouble is so much for my ignorance of God, and weakness of belief, and want of greater love to God, and strangeness to him, and to the life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and longing to be with God in heaven, as that I take not some immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious sins, if they could be found as separate from these. Had I all the riches of the world, how gladly should I give them, for a fuller knowledge, belief, and love of God and everlasting glory! these wants are the greatest burden of my life, which oft maketh my life itself a burden. And I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these, while I am in the flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained: which maketh me the wearier of this sinful world, which is honoured with so little of the knowledge of God.

Heretofore I placed much of my religion in tenderness of heart, and grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and less of it, in the love of God, and studying his love and goodness, and in his joyful praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of love and praise; though I coldly spake the same words in its commendations, as now I do: and now I am less troubled for want of grief and tears (though I more value humility, and refuse not needful humiliation): but my conscience now looketh at love and delight in God, and praising him, as the top of all my religious duties, for which it is that I value and use the rest.

My judgment is much more for frequent and serious meditation on the heavenly blessedness, than it

it was heretofore in my younger days. I then thought that a sermon of the attributes of God, and the joys of heaven were not the most excellent; and was wont to say, "Every body knoweth this, that God is great and good, and that heaven is a blessed place; I had rather hear how I may attain it." And nothing pleased me so well as the doctrine of regeneration, and the marks of sincerity; which was because it was suitable to me in that state: but now I had rather read, hear or meditate, on God and heaven, than on any other subject: for I perceive that is the object that altereth and elevateth the mind; which will be such as that is, which it most frequently feedeth on: and that it is not only useful to our comfort, to be much in heaven in our believing thoughts: but that it must animate all our other duties, and fortify us against every temptation and sin; and that the love of the end is it that is the poise or spring, which setteth every wheel a going, and must put us on to all the means: and that a man is no more a christian indeed than he is heavenly.

I was once wont to meditate most on my own heart, and to dwell all at home, and look little higher: I was still poring either on my sins or wants, or examining my sincerity; but now, though I am greatly convinced of the need of heart-acquaintance and employment, yet I see more need of a higher work; and that I should look oftener upon Christ, and God, and Heaven, than upon my own heart. At home I can find distempers to trouble me, and some evidences of my peace: but it is above that I must find matter of delight and joy, and love and peace itself. Therefore I would have one thought at home upon myself and sins, and many thoughts above upon the high and amiable and beatifying objects.

Heretofore

Heretofore I knew much less than now; and yet was not half so much acquainted with my ignorance. I had a great delight in the daily new discoveries which I made, and of the light which shined in upon me (like a man that cometh into a country where he never was before;) but I little knew either how imperfectly I understood those very points, whose discovery so much delighted me, nor how much might be said against them; nor how many things I was yet a stranger to: but now I find far greater darkness upon all things, and perceive how very little it is that we know in comparison of that which we are ignorant of, and have far meaner thoughts of my own understanding, though I must needs know that it is better furnished than it was then.

Accordingly I had then a far higher opinion of learned persons and books, than I have now; for what I wanted myself, I thought every reverend divine had attained, and was familiarly acquainted with: and what books I understood not by reason of the strangeness of the terms or matter, I the more admired, and thought that others understood their worth. But now experience hath constrained me against my will to know, that reverend learned men are imperfect, and know but little as well as I; especially those that think themselves the wisest: And the better I am acquainted with them, the more I perceive that we are all yet in the dark: and the more I am acquainted with holy men, that are all for heaven, and pretend not much to subtilties, the more I value and honour them. And when I have studied hard to understand some abstruse admired book, (as *De Scientia Dei, De Providentia circa malum, de Decretis, de Prædeterminatione, de Libertate Creaturæ, &c.)* I have but attained

tained the knowledge of human imperfection, and to see that the author is but a man as well as I.

And at first I took more upon my author's credit, than now I can do: and when an author was highly commended to me by others, or pleased me in some part, I was ready to entertain the whole; whereas now I take and leave in the same author, and dissent in some things from him that I like best, as well as from others.

At first I was greatly inclined to go with the highest in controversies, on one side or other; as with Dr. Twisse, and Mr. Rutherford, and Spanhemius *de Providentia, & gratia, &c.* But now I can so easily see what to say against both extremes that I am much more inclinable to reconciling principles. And whereas then I thought that conciliators were but ignorant men, that were willing to please all, and would pretend to reconcile the world by principles which they did not understand themselves; I have since perceived that if the amiableness of peace and concord had no hand in the business, yet greater light and stronger judgment usually is with the reconcilers, than with either of the contending parties (as with Davenant, Hall, Usher, Ld. Crocius, Bergius, Strangius, Camero, &c.) But on both accounts their writings are most acceptable, (though I know that moderation may be a pretext of errors).

At first the stile of authors took as much with me as the argument, and made the arguments seem more forcible; but now I judge not of truth at all by any such ornaments or accidents, but by its naked evidence.

I now see more good and more evil in all men than heretofore I did. I see that good men are not so good, as I once thought they were, but have

have more imperfections: and that nearer approach and fuller trial, doth make the best appear more weak and faulty, than their admirers at a distance think. And I find that few are so bad, as either malicious enemies, or censorious separating professors do imagine. In some indeed I find that human nature is corrupted into a greater likeness to devils, than I once thought any on earth had been. But even in the wicked usually there is more for grace to make advantage of, and more to testify for God and holiness, than I once believed there had been.

I less admire gifts of utterance and bare profession of religion than I once did; and have much more charity for many, who by the want of gifts, do make an obscurer profession than they. I once thought that almost all that could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of religion, had been saints. But experience hath opened to me, what odious crimes may consist with high profession; and I have met with divers obscure persons, not noted for any extraordinary profession, or forwardness in religion, but only to live a quiet blameless life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified life; only their prayers and duties were by accident kept secret from other men's observation. Yet he that upon this pretence would confound the godly and the ungodly, may as well go about to lay heaven and hell together.

I am not so narrow in my special love as heretofore: being less censorious, and taking more than I did *for* saints, it must needs follow that I love more as saints than I did before. I think it not lawful to put that man off with bare church communion, and such common love which I must allow

allow the wicked, who professeth himself a true christian, by such a profession as I cannot disprove.

I am not too narrow in my principles of church communion as once I was. I more plainly perceive the difference between the church as congregate or visible, and as regenerate or mystical; and between sincerity and profession; and that a credible profession is proof sufficient of a man's title to church admission: and that the profession is credible *in foro ecclesiæ*, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the church more than Christ himself alloweth us; nor for robbing him of any of his flock. I am more sensible how much it is the will of Christ that every man be the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, and that it lieth most on his own hands, whether he will have communion with the church or not; and that if he be an hypocrite it is himself that will bear the loss.

Yet am I more apprehensive than ever of the great use and need of ecclesiastical discipline, and what a sin it is in the pastors of the church, to make no distinction, but by bare names and sacraments, and to force all the unmeet against their own wills, to church communion and sacraments (though the ignorant and erroneous may sometime be forced to hear instruction): and what a great dishonour to Christ it is, when the church shall be as vicious as Pagan and Mahometan assemblies, and shall differ from them only in ceremony and name.

I am much more sensible of the evil of schism, and of the separating humour, and of gathering parties, and making several sects in the church than I was heretofore. For the effects have shewed us more of the mischiefs.

I am

I am much more sensible how prone many young professors are to spiritual pride and self-conceitedness, and unruliness and division, and so to prove the grief of their teachers, and firebrands in the church; and how much of a minister's work lieth in preventing this, and humbling and confirming such young unexperienced professors, and keeping them in order in their progress in religion.

Yet am I more sensible of the sin and mischief of using men cruelly in matters of religion, and of pretending men's good, and the order of the church, for acts of inhumanity or uncharitableness. Such know not their own infirmity, nor yet the nature of pastoral government, which ought to be paternal and by love; nor do they know the way to win a soul, nor to maintain the church's peace.

My soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable world, and more drawn out in desire of their conversion than heretofore. I was wont to look but little farther than England in my prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the world: or if I prayed for the conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the case of the world, and the method of the Lord's prayer, so there is nothing in the world that lieth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth. It is the most astonishing part of all God's providence to me, that he so far forsaketh almost all the world, and confineth his special favour to so few: that so small a part of the world hath the profession of christianity, in comparison of heathens, mahometans and other infidels! And that among professed christians there are so few that are saved from gross delusions, and have but any competent knowledge: and that among those there are so few that are se-

riously religious, and truly set their hearts on heaven. I cannot be affected so much with the calamities of my own relations, or the land of my nativity, as with the case of the heathen, mahometan and ignorant nations of the earth. No part of my prayers are so deeply serious, as that for the conversion of the infidel and ungodly world, that God's name may be sanctified, and his kingdom come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven: nor was I ever before so sensible what a plague the division of languages was which hindereth our speaking to them for their conversion; nor what a great sin tyranny is, which keepeth out the gospel from most of the nations of the world. Could we but go among Tartarians, Turks, and Heathens, and speak their language, I should be but little troubled for the silencing of eighteen hundred ministers at once in England, nor for all the rest that were cast out here, and in Scotland and Ireland; there being no employment in the world so desirable in my eyes, as to labour for the winning of such miserable souls: which maketh me greatly honour Mr. John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians in New-England, and whoever else have laboured in such work.

Yet am I not so much inclined to pass a peremptory sentence of damnation upon all that never heard of Christ; having some more reason than I knew of before, to think that God's dealing with such is much unknown to us! And that the ungodly here among us Christians are in a far worse case than they.

My censures of the Papists do much differ from what they were at first. I then thought that their errors in the Doctrines of Faith were their most dangerous mistakes, as in the points of merit, justification

justification by works, assurance of salvation, the nature of faith, &c. But now I am assured that their mis-expressions, and mis-understanding us, with our mistakings of them, and inconvenient expressing our own opinions, hath made the difference in these points to appear much greater than they are; and that in some of them it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable differences lie, in their church tyranny and usurpations, and in their great corruptions and abasement of God's worship, together with their befriending of ignorance and vice. At first I thought that Mr. Perkins well proved that a Papist cannot go beyond a reprobate;[2] but now I doubt not but that God hath many sanctified ones among them, who have received the true doctrine of christianity so practically, that their contradictory errors prevail not against them, to hinder their love of God, and their salvation: but that their errors are like a conquerable dose of poison which nature doth overcome. And I can never believe that a man may not be saved by that religion, which doth but bring him to the true love of God, and to a heavenly mind and life: nor that God will ever cast a soul into hell that truly loveth him. Also at first it would disgrace any doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called Popery and Antichristian: but I have long learned to be more impartial, and to dislike men for bad doctrine, rather than the doctrines for the men; and to know that Satan can use even the names of Popery and Antichrist, against a truth.

I am deeplier afflicted for the disagreements of christians than I was when I was a younger christian.

[2] *A reprobate.*] Compare, vol. iv. p. 248, 249, &c. Life of Hooker

Except the case of the infidel world, nothing is so sad and grievous to my thoughts, as the case of the divided churches. And therefore I am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those prelates and pastors of the churches, who are the principal cause of these divisions. O how many millions of souls are kept by them in ignorance, and ungodliness, and deluded by faction as if it were true religion! How is the conversion of infidels hindered by them! and Christ and religion heinously dishonoured! The contentions between the Greek Church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have wofully hindered the kingdom of Christ.

I have spent much of my studies about the terms of christian concord, and have over and over considered of the several ways, which several sorts of reconcilers have devised. I have thought of the Papists' way, who think there will be no union, but by coming over wholly to their church: and I have found that it is neither possible nor desirable. I have thought and thought again of the way of the moderating Papists, Cassander, Grotius, Baldwin, &c. and of those that would have all reduced to the state of the times of Gregory the first, before the division of the Greek and Latin churches, that the Pope might have his primacy, and govern all the church by the canons of the councils, with a salvo to the rights of kings and patriarchs and prelates; and that the doctrines and worship which then were received might prevail. And for my own part, if I lived in such a state of the church, I would live peaceably, as glad of unity, though lamenting the corruption and tyranny: but I am fully assured that none of these are the true desirable terms of unity, nor such as are ever like to procure an universal concord: and I am as sure that

that the true means and terms of concord are obvious and easy to an impartial willing mind. And that these three things alone would easily heal and unite all the churches.

1. That all christian princes and governors take all the coercive power about religion into their own hands; (though if prelates and their courts must be used as their officers in exercising that coercive power, so be it): and that they make a difference between the *approved* and the *tolerated* churches; and that they keep the peace between these churches, and settle their several privileges by a law.

2. That the churches be accounted *tolerable*, who profess all that is in the creed, Lord's prayer, and decalogue in particular, and generally all that they shall find to be revealed in the word of God, and hold communion in teaching, prayer, praises, and the two sacraments, not obstinately preaching any heresie contrary to the particular articles which they profess, nor seditiously disturbing the public peace: and that such heretical preaching, and such seditious unpeaceableness, or notorious wickedness of life, do forfeit their toleration.

3. And that those that are further orthodox in those particulars, which rulers think fit to impose upon their subjects, have their public maintenance and greater encouragement. Yea, and this much is become necessary, but upon supposition that men will still be so self-conceited and uncharitable, as not to forbear their unnecessary impositions. Otherwise there would be found but very few who are *tolerable*, that are not also in their measure to be *approved*, maintained, and encouraged. And if the primitive simplicity in doctrine, government, and worship, might serve turn, for the terms of the

the church's union and communion, all would be well without any more ado; supposing that where christian magistrates are, they keep the peace, and repress the offenders, and exercise all the coercive government. And heretics, who will subscribe to the christian faith, must not be punished because they will subscribe to no more, but because they are proved to preach or promote heresie, contrary to the faith which they profess.

I am farther than ever I was from expecting great matters of unity, splendor, or prosperity to the church on earth, or that saints should dream of a kingdom of this world, or flatter themselves with the hopes of a golden age, or reigning over the ungodly, (till there be *a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth rigteousness)*. And on the contrary I am more apprehensive that sufferings must be the church's most ordinary lot, and Christians indeed must be self-denying cross-bearers, even where there are none but formal nominal christians to be the cross-makers: and though ordinarily God would have vicissitudes of summer and winter, day and night, that the church may grow extensively in the summer of prosperity, and intensively and radicatedly in the winter of adversity: yet usually their night is longer than their day, and that day itself hath its storms and tempests. For the prognostics are evident in their causes. 1. The church will be still imperfect and sinful, and will have those diseases which need this bitter remedy. 2. Rich men will be the rulers of the world; and rich men will be generally so far from true godliness, that they must come to heaven as by human impossibilities, as a camel through a needle's eye. 3. The ungodly will ever have an enmity against the image of God, and he that is born of

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the flesh will persecute him that was born after the spirit, and brotherhood will not keep a Cain from killing an Abel, who offereth a more acceptable sacrifice than himself: and the guilty will still hate the light, and make a prey to their pride and malice of a conscionable reprover. 4. The pastors will be still troubling the church with their pride and avarice and contentions; and the worst will be seeking to be the greatest, and they that seek it are likeliest to attain it. 5. He that is highest will be still imposing his conceits upon those under him, and lording it over God's heritage, and with Diotrephes casting out the brethren, and ruling them by constraint, and not as volunteers. 6. Those that are truly judicious will still comparatively be few; and consequently the troublers and dividers will be the multitude; and a judicious peace-maker and reconciler will be neglected, slighted, or hated by both extremes. 7. The tenor of the gospel predictions, precepts, promises, and threatenings, are fitted to a people in a suffering state. 8. And the graces of God in a believer are mostly suited to a state of suffering. 9. Christians must imitate Christ, and suffer with him before they reign with him; and his kingdom was not of this world. 10. The observation of God's dealing hitherto with the church in every age confirmeth me: and his befooling them that have dreamed of glorious times. It was such dreams that transported the Munster Anabaptists, and the followers of David George in the low countries, and Campanella, and the *Illuminati* among the Papists, and our English Anabaptists and other fanatics here, both in the army and the city and country. When they think the golden age is come, they shew their dreams in their extravagant actions: and as our fifth monarchy men, they are presently upon some unquiet rebellious

rebellious attempt, to set up Christ in his kingdom whether he will or not. I remember how Abraham Scultetus *in curriculo Vitæ suæ* confesseth the common vanity of himself and other Protestants in Germany, who seeing the princes in England, France, Bohemia, and many other countries, to be all at once both great and wise, and friends to reformation, did presently expect the golden age: but within one year either death, or ruins of war, or black-slidings, had exposed all their expectations to scorn, and laid them lower than before.

I do not lay so great a stress upon the external modes and forms of worship, as many young professors do. I have suspected myself, as perhaps the reader may do, that this is from a cooling and declining from my former zeal (though the truth is, I never much complied with men of that mind): but I find that judgment and charity are the causes of it, as far as I am able to discover. I cannot be so narrow in my principles of church-communion as many are; that are so much for a liturgy, or so much against it, so much for ceremonies or so much against them, that they can hold communion with no church that is not of their mind and way. If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independants, yea, the Anabaptists (that own no heresy, nor set themselves against charity and peace) I would hold sometimes occasional communion with them as Christians (if they will give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful subscription or action): though my most usual communion should be with that society, which I thought most agreeable to the word of God, if I were free to chuse. I [illegible] not be of their opinion that think God will not [illegible]ept him that prayeth by the common prayer book, [illegible]d that such forms are a self-invented worship which God rejecteth: nor yet

yet can I be of their mind that say the like of extemporary prayers.

I am much less regardful of the approbation of man, and set much lighter by contempt or applause, than I did long ago. I am oft suspicious that this is not only from the increase of self-denial and humility; but partly from my being glutted and surfeited with human applause: and all worldly things appear most vain and unsatisfactory when we have tried them most. But though I feel that this hath some hand in the effect, yet as far as I can perceive, the knowledge of man's nothingness, and God's transcendent greatness, with whom it is that I have most to do, and the sense of the brevity of human things, and the nearness of eternity, are the principal causes of this effect; which some have imputed to self conceitedness and morosity.

I am more and more pleased with a solitary life; and though in a way of self-denial I could submit to the most public life, for the service of God, when he required it, and would not be unprofitable that I might be private; yet I must confess, it is much more pleasing to myself, to be retired from the world, and to have very little to do with men, and to converse with God and conscience and good books; of which I have spoken my heart in my *Divine Life*, part iii.

Though I was never much tempted to the sin of covetousness, yet my fear of dying was wont to tell me, that I was not sufficiently loosened from this world. But I find that it is comparatively very easy to me to be loose from this world, but hard to live by faith above. To despise earth is easy to me; but not so easy to be acquainted and conversant in heaven. I have nothing in this world

world which I could not easily let go; but to get satisfying apprehensions of the other world is the great and grievous difficulty.

I am much more apprehensive than long ago, of the odiousness and danger of the sin of pride; scarce any sin appeareth more odious to me. Having daily more acquaintance with the lamentable naughtiness and frailty of man, and of the mischiefs of that sin; and especially in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, I think so far as any man is proud he is kin to the Devil, and utterly a stranger to God and to himself. It is a wonder that it should be a possible sin, to men that still carry about with them, in soul and body, such humbling matter of remedy as we all do.

I more than ever lament the unhappiness of the nobility, gentry, and great ones of the world, who live in such temptation to sensuality, curiosity and wasting of their time about a multitude of little things; and whose lives are too often the transcript of the sins of Sodom; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, and want of compassion to the poor. And I more value the life of the poor labouring man; but especially of him that hath neither poverty nor riches.

I am much more sensible than heretofore, of the breadth, and length, and depth of the radical, universal, odious sin of selfishness, and therefore have written so much against it: and of the excellency and necessity of self-denial, and of a public mind, and of loving our neighbour as ourselves.

I am more and more sensible that most controversies have more need of right stating than of debating; and if my skill be increased in any thing it is in that, in narrowing controversies by explication,

cation, and separating the real from the verbal, and proving to many contenders, that they differ less than they think they do.

I am more solicitous than I have been about my duty to God, and less solicitous about his dealings with me; as being assured that he will do all things well; and as acknowledging the goodness of all the declarations of his holiness, even in the punishment of man; and as knowing that there is no rest but in the will and goodness of God.

Though my works were never such as could be any temptation to me to dream of obliging God by proper merit, in commutative justice; yet one of the most ready, constant, undoubted evidences of my uprightness and interest in his covenant, is the consciousness of my living as devoted to him: and I the easilier believe the pardon of my failings through my redeemer, while I know that I serve no other master, and that I know no other end, or trade, or business; but that I am employed in his work, and make it the business of my life, and live to him in the world, notwithstanding my infirmities. And this bent and business of my life, with my longing desires after perfection, in the knowledge and belief and love of God, and in a holy and heavenly mind and life, are the two standing, constant, discernable evidences, which most put me out of doubt of my sincerity. And I find that constant action and duty is it that keepeth the mind always in the sight; and constant wants and weaknesses, and coming short of my desires, do make those desires still the more troublesome, and so the more easily still perceived.

Though my habitual judgment and resolution and scope of life be still the same, yet I find a great mutability as to actual apprehensions and

degrees

degrees of grace; and consequently find that so mutuable a thing as the mind of man, would never keep itself if God were not its keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the reasons of christianity, with the concurrent evidences methodically placed in their just advantages before my eyes, I am so clear in my belief of the christian verities, that Satan hath little room for a temptation. But sometimes when he hath on a sudden set some temptation before me, when the foresaid evidences have been out of the way, or less upon my thoughts, he hath by such surprizes amazed me, and weakened my faith in the present act. So also as to the love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes when the motives are clearly apprehended, the duty is more easy and delightful: and at other times, I am merely passive and dull, if not guilty of actual despondency and distrust.

I am much more cautelous in my belief of history than heretofore: not that I run into their extreme that will believe nothing because they cannot believe all things. But I am abundantly satisfied by the experience of this age, that there is no believing two sorts of men, ungodly men and partial men: though an honest heathen of no religion may be believed, where enmity against religion biasseth him not; yet a debauched Christian, besides his enmity to the power and pratice of his own religion, is seldom without some farther biass of interest or faction; especially when these concur, and a man is both ungodly and ambitious, espousing an interest contrary to a holy heavenly life, and also factious, embodying himself with a sect or party suited to his spirit and designs, there is no believing his word or oath. If you read any man partially bitter against others as differing from him

him in opinion, or as cross to his greatness, interest or designs, take heed how you believe any more, than the historical evidence distinct from his word compelleth you to believe. The prodigious lies which have been published in this age in matters of fact, with unblushing confidence, even where thousands or multitudes of eye and ear-witnesses knew all to be false, doth call men to take heed what history they believe, especially where power and violence affordeth that privilege to the reporter, that no man dare answer him or detect his fraud, or if they do their writings are all suppresst. As long as men have liberty to examine and contradict one another, one may partly conjecture by comparing their words, on which side the truth is like to lie. But when great men write history, or flatteries by their appointment, which no man dare contradict, believe it but as you are constrained. Yet in these cases I can freely believe history: 1. If the person shew that he is acquainted with what he saith. 2. And if he shew you the evidences of honesty and conscience, and the fear of God (which may be much perceived in the spirit of a writing). 3. And if he appear to be impartial and charitable, and a lover of goodness and of mankind; and not possessed with malignity, or personal ill will and malice, nor carried away by faction or personal interest. Conscionable men dare not lie; but faction and interest abate men's tenderness of conscience. And a charitable impartial heathen may speak truth in a love to truth, and hatred of a lie; but ambitious malice and false religion, will not stick to serve themselves on any thing. It is easy to trace the footsteps of veracity in the intelligence, impartiality, and ingenuity of a Thuanus, a Guicciardine, a Paulus Venetus, though Papists, and of

Socrates

Socrates and Sozomen, though accused by the factious of favouring the Novatians; and many Protestants, in a Melanchthon, a Bucholtzer, and many more; and among physicians in such as Crato, Platerus, &c. But it is as easy to see the footsteps of partiality and faction and design, in a Genebrard, a Baronius, and a multitude of their companions; and to see reason of suspicion in many more. Therefore I confess I give but halting credit to most histories that are written, not only against the Albigenses and Waldenses, but against most of the ancient heretics, who have left us none of their own writings, in which they speak for themselves; and I heartily lament that the historical writings of the ancient schismatics, and heretics (as they were called) perished, and that partiality suffered them not to survive, that we might have had more light in the church affairs of those times, and been better able to judge between the fathers and them. And as I am prone to think that few of them were so bad as their adversaries made them, so I am apt to think that such as the Novatians, and Luciferians, and Indians, &c. whom their adversaries commend, were very good men, and more godly than most Catholics, however mistaken in some one point. Sure I am, that as the lies of the Papists, of Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, and Beza, are visibly malicious and impudent, by the common plenary contradicting evidence, and yet the multitude of their seduced ones believe them all in despight of truth and charity; so in this age there have been such things written against parties and persons whom the writers design to make odious, so notoriously false as you would think that the sense of their honour at least, should have made it impossible for such men to write. My own eyes have read such words and actions asserted

with

with most vehement iterated unblushing confidence, which abundance of ear-witnesses, even of their own parties must needs know to have been altogether false: and therefore having myself now written this history of myself, notwithstanding my protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the truth, I expect no more credit from the reader, than the self-evidencing light of the matter, with concurrent rational advantages, from persons, and things, and other witnesses, shall constrain him to; if he be a person that is unacquainted with the author himself, and the other evidences of his veracity and credibility. And, I have purposely omitted almost all the descriptions of any persons that ever opposed me, or that ever I or my brethren suffered by, because I know that the appearance of interest and partiality might give a fair excuse to the reader's incredulity: (although indeed the true description of persons is much of the very life of history, and especially of the history of the age which I have lived in; yet to avoid the suspicion of partiality I have left it out): except only when I speak of the Cromwellians and sectaries, where I am the more free, because none suspecteth my interest to have engaged me against them; but (with the rest of my brethren) I have opposed them in the obedience of my conscience, when by pleasing them I could have had almost any thing that they could have given me, and when before-hand I expected that the present governors should silence me, and deprive me of maintenance, house and home, as they have done by me and many hundreds more. Therefore I supposed that my descriptions and censures of those persons which would have enriched and honoured me, and of their actions against that party which hath silenced, impoverished and accused

accused me, and which before hand I expected should do so, are beyond the suspicion of envy, self-interest or partiality: if not, I there also am content that the reader exercise his liberty, and believe no worse even of these men, than the evidence of fact constraineth him.

Thus much of the alterations of my soul, since my younger years, I thought best to give the reader, instead of all those experiences and actual motions and affections, which I suppose him rather to have expected an account of. And having transcribed thus much of a life which God hath read, and conscience hath read, and must further read, I humbly lament it, and beg pardon of it, as sinful and too unequal and unprofitable: and I warn the reader to amend that in his own, which he findeth to have been amiss in mine; confessing also that much hath been amiss which I have not here particularly mentioned, and that I have not lived according to the abundant mercies of the Lord. But what I have recorded, hath been especially to perform my vows, and declare his praise to all generations, who hath filled up my days with his unvaluable favours, and bound me to bless his name for ever: and also to prevent the defective performance of this task, by some overvaluing brethren, who I know intended it, and were unfitter to do it than myself. And for such reasons as Junius, Scultetus, Thuanus, and many others have done the like before me. The principal of which are these three: 1. As travellers and seamen use to do after great adventures and deliverances, I hereby satisfy my conscience, in praising the blessed author of all those undeserved mercies which have filled up my life. 2. Foreseeing by the attempts of bishop Morley, what Prelatists and Papists are like to say of me, when they have none

to

to contradict them, and how possible it is that those that never knew me may believe them, though they have lost their hopes with all the rest, I take it to be my duty to be so faithful to that stock of reputation which God hath intrusted me with, as to defend it at the rate of opening the truth. Such as have made the world believe that Luther consulted with the devil, that Calvin was a stigmatized Sodomite, that Beza turned Papist, &c. to blast their labours, I know are very like to say any thing by me, which their interest or malice tell them will any way advantage their cause, to make my writings unprofitable when I am dead. 3. That young christians may be warned by the mistakes and failings of my unriper times, to learn in patience, and live in watchfulness, and not be fierce and proudly confident in their first conceptions; and to reverence ripe experienced age, and to take heed of taking such for their chief guides as have nothing but immature and unexperienced judgments, with fervent affections, and free and confident expressions; but to learn of them that have with holiness, study, time and trial, looked about them as well on one side as the other, and attained to clearness and impartiality in their judgments.

But having mentioned the changes which I think were for the better, I must add, that as I confessed many of my sins before, so since I have been guilty of many, which because materially they seemed small, have had the less resistance, and yet on the review do trouble more than if they had been greater, done in ignorance. It can be no small thing formally which is committed against knowledge and conscience and deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have sinned while I preached and wrote against sin, and had such

abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: not so much in fear of hell, as in great displeasure against myself, and such self-abhorrence as would cause revenge upon myself, were it not forbidden. When God forgiveth me I cannot forgive myself; especially for any rash words or deeds, by which I have seemed injurious, and less tender and kind, than I should have been to my near and dear relations, whose love abundantly obliged me. When such are dead, though we never differed in points of interest, on any great matter, every sour or cross provoking word which I gave them, maketh me almost unreconcileable to myself; and tells me how repentance brought some of old, to pray to the dead whom they had wronged, to forgive them, in the hurry of their passion.

And though I before told the change of my judgment against provoking writings, I have had more will than skill since to avoid such. I must mention it by way of penitent confession, that I am too much inclined to such words in controversial writings, which are too keen, and apt to provoke the person whom I write against. Sometimes I suspect that age soureth my spirits, and sometimes I am apt to think that it is long thinking and speaking of such things that maketh me weary, and less patient with others that understand them not; and sometimes I am ready to think that it is out of a hatred of the flattering humour which now prevaileth so in the world, that few persons are able to hear the truth: and I am sure that I can not only hear myself such language as I use to others, but that I expect it. I think all these are partly causes; but I am sure the principal cause is a long custom of studying how to speak and write in the keenest manner to the common, ignorant, and

and ungodly people, without which keenness to them, no sermon, nor book does much good: which hath so habituated me to it, that I am still falling into the same with others; forgetting that many ministers, and professors of strictness do desire the greatest roughness to the vulgar, and to their adversaries, and the greatest lenity, and smoothness, and comfort, if not honour, to themselves. And I have a strong natural inclination to speak of every subject just as it is, and to call a spade, a spade, and *verba rebus aptare*, so as that the thing spoken of may be fulliest known by the words, which methinks is part of our speaking truly. But I unfeignedly confess that it is faulty, because imprudent; (for that is not a good means which doth harm, because it is not fitted to the end); and because whilst the readers think me angry, though I feel no passion at such times in myself, it is scandalous, and a hindrance to the usefulness of what I write: and especially because, though I feel no anger, yet, which is worse, I know that there is some want of honour and love or tenderness to others, or else I should not be apt to use such words as open their weakness and offend them: and therefore I repent of it, and wish all oversharp passages were expunged from my writings, and desire forgivenness of God and man. And yet I must say that I am oft afraid of the contrary extreme, lest when I speak against great and dangerous errors and sins, though of persons otherwise honest, I should encourage men to them, by speaking too easily of them, as Eli did to his sons, and lest I should so favour the person, as may befriend the sin, and wrong the church. And I must say as the New England synodists in their defence against Mr. Davenport, page 2. pref. "We heartily desire that as much as may be, all expres-

sions and reflexions may be foreborn, that tend to break the bond of love. Indeed such is our infirmity, that the naked discovery of the fallacy or invalidity of another's allegations or arguings is apt to provoke. This in disputes is unavoidable."

And therefore I am less for a disputing way than ever; believing that it tempteth men to bend their wits, to defend their errors, and oppose the truth, and hindereth usually their information. *And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all men*, &c. therefore I am most in judgment for a learning or a teaching way of converse. In all companies I will be glad, either to hear those speak that can teach me, or to be heard of those that have need to learn.

And that which I named before on the bye, is grown one of my great diseases: I have lost much of that zeal which I had, to propagate any truths to others, save the mere fundamentals. When I perceive people or ministers, which is too common, to think they know what indeed they do not, and to dispute those things which they never thoroughly studied, or expect I should debate the case with them, as if an hour's talk would serve instead of an acute understanding, and seven year's study, I have no zeal to make them of my opinion, but an impatience of continuing discourse with them on such subjects, and am apt to be silent, or turn to something else: which, (though there be some reason for it), I feel cometh from a want of zeal for the truth, and from an impatient temper of mind. I am ready to think that people should quickly understand all in a few words, and if they cannot, lazily to despair of them, and leave them to themselves. And I the more know that it is sinful in me; because it is partly so in other things; even about the faults of my servants or

other inferiors, if three or four times warning do no good on them, I am much tempted to despair of them, and turn them away, and leave them to themselves.

I mention all these distempers, that my faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on myself for repentance and watchfulness. O Lord, for the merits and sacrifice and intercession of Christ, be merciful to me a sinner, and forgive my known and unknown sins!

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